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Table of Contents

Page

Articles

John Adams and Turgot 3
Book of Common Prayer, The First 93
Fantin-Latour, The Lithographs of 75
French Prints 166
Goethe Bicentenary 112
Griswold, The Correspondence of R. W. 61, 156
Ishmael Melvill 119
Pantaloon as Shylock 33
Thomas Sergeant Perry and Henry James 43
William Dean Howells and Thomas Sergeant Perry 135
Poe Centenary 151

Notes on Rare Books

The Art of Ingenuity 85
Jane Austin, The Last Novels of 86
Bloody Newes from Dover 172
Byron, First Editions of 169
The Chronicle of King Alfonso XI 173
Doni's *Mondi* and *Inferni* 174
Huon de Bordeaux, The First Editions of 83
Pharmaceutical Botany a Century Ago 81
Ticknor Anniversary 79

Illustrations

"Amazon," Entry in the Log of the 125
Book of Common Prayer, Title-Page of, 1549 *Facing p.* 93
"Los Gitanos," Lithograph by Manet *Facing p.* 166
Goethe's Portrait — Lithograph by Delacroix *Facing p.* 114
Howells, William Dean, Portrait of *Facing p.* 140
Pantaloon — Lyons, 1601 35
Perry, Thomas Sergeant, Portrait of *Facing p.* 48
Poe's "Tales," Publisher's Offer to Print 67
Poe's Portrait *Facing p.* 152
"The Rhine Maidens," Lithograph by Fantin-Latour *Facing p.* 76
Turgot, Portrait of *Facing p.* 3

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Volume I, Number 1

Contents

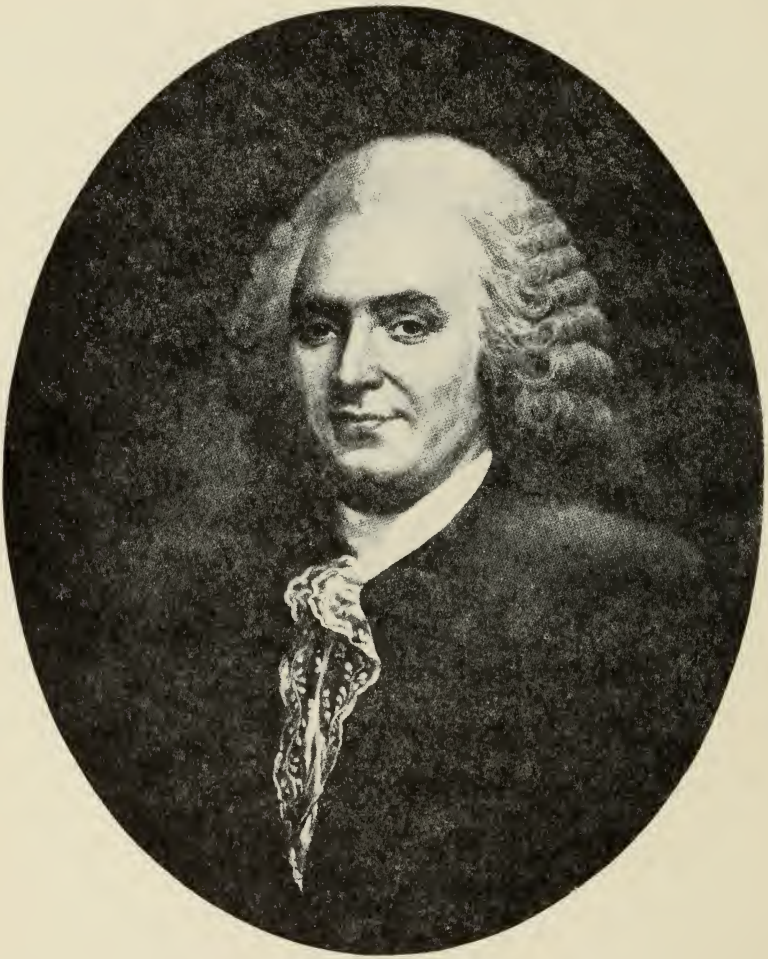
	Page
John Adams and Turgot *By Zoltán Haraszti*	3
Pantaloon as Shylock *By John Robert Moore*	33
Thomas Sergeant Perry and Henry James *By Virginia Harlow*	43
The Correspondence of R. W. Griswold	61
The Lithographs of Fantin-Latour *By Arthur W. Heintzelman*	75
Notes on Rare Books:	
Ticknor Anniversary	79
Pharmaceutical Botany a Century Ago — *by Margaret Munsterberg*	81
The First Editions of Huon de Bordeaux — *by Jean D. Lamb*	83
The Art of Ingenuity — *by Doris L. Cross*	85
The Last Novels of Jane Austen — *by Mary Robertson*	86
Illustrations and Facsimiles	

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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

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Turgot
Portrait in Pastel, Made by Joseph Ducreux in 1774

THE
Boston Public Library
QUARTERLY

JULY 1949

John Adams and Turgot

By ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

1

OF all the French thinkers of the eighteenth century, Adams regarded Turgot as the most dangerous adversary of good government. It was a letter by the former Comptroller-General of Louis XVI, addressed to Dr. Price, the English dissenting minister, criticizing the American state constitutions, which prompted Adams's *Defence of the Constitutions of the United States.* The title-page itself states that the work was written "against the attack of M. Turgot"; and the name of the French philosopher and statesman appears innumerable times throughout the text. By answering Turgot's objections, Adams wanted to combat his influence, which, somewhat rashly, he connected with recent events in America.

"There has been," he wrote in his Preliminary Observations, "from the beginning of the revolution in America, a party in every state, who have entertained sentiments similar to these of Mr. Turgot. Two or three of them have established governments upon his principle; and, by advices from Boston, certain committees of counties have been held, and other conventions proposed in the Massachusetts, with the express purpose of deposing the governor and senate as useless and expensive branches of the constitution; and as it is probable that the pub-

lication of M. Turgot's opinion has contributed to excite such discontents among the people, it becomes necessary to examine it, and, if it can be shown to be an error, whatever veneration the Americans very justly entertain for his memory, it is to be hoped they will not be misled by his authority . . ."[1]

Turgot's letter, dated March 22, 1778, was first published in Dr. Price's *Importance of the American Revolution,* printed in London in 1784. In the same year, the book was re-issued in Boston, and in the next in New Haven, Trenton, and Philadelphia.[2] Yet, in spite of the interest it aroused, it is far from "probable" that Turgot's letter had anything to do with the disorders in America. The loss of markets brought about by the war, the petty tariff wars between the states, the currency famine and the impoverishment of the farmers — in short, the economic depression[3] — were incomparably more influential than the opinions of a dead French philosopher. Nor should one think that Turgot's criticisms were so pervasive in France as to obscure the true features of American democracy from his own countrymen. Since the war, French eulogies of America, with the enthusiastic descriptions of travellers and the grateful recollections of officers, were growing into an avalanche.[4] However, radicalism was undoubtedly spreading in both countries, and Adams was aching to take the field against it. Turgot's letter served as an excellent opportunity.

Challenging almost every one of its statements, Adams made some forty-five comments on Turgot's letter. So important did he consider these that he showed the book with his notes in it to Franklin, who had the notes copied and bound into his own volume. Adams's copy is lost, but Franklin's turned up at the Corwin sale in New York in 1856[5]; it was acquired (for $11) by Charles Francis Adams, and is now deposited in the Boston Athenaeum.* In view of Adams's preoccupation with Turgot's ideas, his notes on the famous letter assume great significance for the understanding of his *Defence* which was to follow two years later.

Adams respected Turgot, acknowledging that he had "an

*The writer wishes to express his thanks to Mr. Henry Adams and to Mr. Walter Muir Whitehill, Director of the Boston Athenaeum, for their kind permission to publish — for the first time — these comments.

honest Heart and great theoretical Knowledge"; but he was not a "judicious Statesman," he did not have "Practice and Experience enough for such a work as the formation of a Government." Indeed, Adams recognized in Turgot's letter to Dr. Price that "headlong Spirit of System and Enthusiasm" which led to his downfall. Turgot's chief demand, the collecting of all authority into one center, that of the nation (*"ramener toutes les autorités à une seule, celle de la nation"*) appeared to him extremely vague, and the greatest "Proof of Ignorance." He insisted upon reading it as meaning that power must be not only vested in but also exercised by a single assembly — something which was far from Turgot's mind.[6] And when, in the next paragraph, the French statesman reproaches the new states for *not* having separated legislation carefully enough from administration, Adams, instead of trying to understand him, thought that he had caught him in a contradiction; that the idea was "totally repugnant" to the writer's main principle. Brought up in the tradition of New England town meetings, he merely scoffed at Turgot's presumption in giving advice on local assemblies.

Yet, with a life-long administrative career behind him, Turgot could hardly be accused of lack of experience. Leaving the Sorbonne, the Abbé de l'Aulne — his full name was Anne Robert Jacques Turgot, Baron de l'Aulne — renounced the Church and, following his father's example, entered the magistracy. After short terms as assistant attorney-general and counsellor of the Parliament of Paris, he was made "master of appeals" (*maitre des requêtes*). A frequenter of Madame Geoffrin's salon, he often met the leading *philosophes,* and soon attracted wide attention by his clear and forceful studies on history, philosophy, and education, some of which appeared in the *Encyclopédie.* In economics he was the most persuasive exponent of the physiocracy of Quesnay and Gournay.[7] Then in 1761, at the age of thirty-four, he was appointed intendant of Limousin. During his thirteen years in the province, he established a record of public service which could hardly be paralleled in his time. The suppression of military requisitions, a more equitable system of taxation, extensive road building, the foundation of boards of charity, and the obligation of landowners to provide for their tenants till the next harvest were among his chief reforms. His

circulars to subordinates and his reports to the cabinet were each one penetrating essays, imbued with warm concern for the welfare of the people. However, it was by accident only — through the intervention of the Abbé de Véri, his former schoolmate and confidant of the Comtesse de Maurepas, wife of the new Prime Minister — that in July 1774 he was asked by Louis XVI to join the Ministry. Even so, the appointment caused immense excitement among the progressives, while the simple folk of Limousin celebrated masses for the success of their intendant.

In his first *mémoire* to the King as Comptroller-General, Turgot emphasized the absolute necessity for economy. "No bankruptcy, no increase of taxes, no borrowing," he wrote, reminding the monarch of his promise to uphold him. It was upon the King, a bewildered young man not yet twenty, that he depended for his success. And, in spite of an illness which kept him in bed for months, he forged rapidly ahead toward his ideals: freedom of commerce and freedom to work. Within a few months he restored free trade in grain and other food-stuffs, improved the means of travel, extended the right of transatlantic commerce to every port, and diminished the deficit to the point where the Dutch bankers were offering loans at four percent. But his vigorous measures provoked ever-growing antagonism. The courtiers hated him for the abolition of their sinecures, the Parliaments for his encroachment on their prerogatives, and the clergy for his counsels of tolerance. For a time he found support in Malesherbes, the Minister of the Household; Maurepas, however, was both fearful and jealous. A shortage of grain caused by a bad harvest was attributed to his system of free trade, and his enemies incited riots in the provinces. Turgot suppressed the disorders, but his authority had been undermined.

It was under such circumstances that, in January 1776, he submitted six new edicts to the King. The most important of these were the suppression of the *corvées* (forced labor) and the abolition of the *jurandes* (monopolies of guilds and trade corporations). Although they were bitterly opposed by the other ministers, Louis accepted the projects. The Parliament of Paris was in an uproar. "The more I think of it," the King

wrote to Turgot, "the more I repeat to myself that you and I are the only ones who really love the people."[8] By an act of *lit de justice* he had the edicts formally registered.[9] The Parisians broke out in demonstrations of joy; and Turgot's enemies decided on a showdown. He was accused of destroying the monarchy under the pretext of reforms; letters in which he supposedly disparaged the King and the Queen were forged to compromise him. The King vacillated, and finally, on May 12, 1776, dismissed the Minister.

Voltaire was dismayed. "What will become of us?" he asked the critic La Harpe. "I am terrified; nothing is left for me but to die now that Turgot has lost his place." And he composed a poem, *L'Epitre à un Homme,* celebrating Turgot as "the kind philosopher, the citizen-minister" who searched for the truth only to do good.[10] "All I wish, Sire," Turgot wrote the King in his farewell letter, "is that you may always believe my vision was wrong, and the dangers I pointed out to you were chimerical . . ." Within three months, the *corvées* and the *jurandes* were re-established, the fiscal and commercial measures were revoked, and corruption was flourishing more openly than ever. No reform was attempted again until the National Convention took summary action on August 4, 1789. The futility of Turgot's heroic efforts is regarded as the most convincing proof that the Revolution was inevitable.[11]

2

AFTER a six weeks' crossing on the frigate *Boston,* John Adams and his "little son," John Quincy, landed at Bordeaux on April 1, 1778. The day before, while their boat was lying in the river, Adams heard that a treaty had been concluded between France and America. "They all expect war every moment," he recorded.[12] He was received with great respect and affection by the President of the Bordeaux Parliament, was dined and wined by officials, and went to the opera, where the scenery, dancing, and music afforded him "a very cheerful, sprightly amusement, having never seen anything of the kind before."[13]

Three days later, he was on his way to Paris. On April 9 he wrote in his Diary: "Dr. Franklin presented to me the compliments of M. Turgot, lately comptroller of the finances, and his invitation to dine with him. Went with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee, and dined in the company of the Duchess d'Enville, the mother of the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, and twenty of the greatest people of France."[14] One would think that the dinner was at Turgot's; but "the magnificence of the house, gardens, library, furniture, and the entertainment of the table" which amazed the visitor from Quincy may indicate that it was to the palace of the Duchess that Turgot had invited his guests. In any case, Adams was impressed by him. "M. Turgot has the appearance of a grave, sensible, and amiable man," he noted.

Within a short time, Adams met many princes, dukes, marquises, and archbishops. Yet, reminiscing in his autobiography, he remarked that the company they had in Paris, and "the society with which Dr. Franklin generally associated were disliked and disapproved by a great body of the finest and soundest people of the kingdom."[15] Who were these "finest and soundest" people? The Duc de Choiseul and the courtiers, the magistracy around the Prince de Conti, or the Comte de Provence and the churchmen? Franklin, to be sure, had little to do with them. He was on intimate terms with Turgot, and also cultivated the friendship of the young men who surrounded the great statesman.[16] Realizing the importance of public opinion, he helped to edit the *Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique,* a magazine devoted to information about the war and the political developments in England and the Colonies.[17] Among his collaborators was the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, who translated into French the constitutions of the American states, beginning with that of Pennsylvania, a copy of which Franklin had taken with him to Paris.[18] Adams, on the other hand, became friendly with the Abbés Mably, Arnoux, and Chalut. With his detestation of the unicameral system, he did not find the young intellectuals congenial company. On his second visit to Paris, early in 1780, he carried with him a copy of the report of the Grand Committee of the Massachusetts Convention, which he himself had drawn up. But Turgot and his followers did not like his system any better than they had two years before.[19]

The translations of the American constitutions, dedicated to Franklin, were published in the spring of 1778 in a small volume entitled *Recueil des Lois Constitutives des Colonies Angloises.* "These constitutions seem to me the finest monuments of human wisdom, representing the purest democracy that has ever existed," the introduction, signed by "Régnier,"[20] begins. The *Mercure de France* greeted the book as a landmark in the history of philosophy. "The legislators of Pennsylvania," it wrote, "should be placed as far above Lycurgus and Solon, as our century is above that of Lycurgus and Solon."[21] The praise was addressed to Franklin, but the public hardly differentiated between the two kinds of American constitutions. The *philosophes* did; and it was their viewpoint that was reflected in Turgot's letter to Dr. Price.

The letter was confidential, but by 1784, three years after the writer's death, Dr. Price felt free to publish it in his *Importance of the American Revolution.* Within a few months, Mirabeau issued a French translation of Dr. Price's essay, together with Turgot's letter and a pamphlet of his own. "What is suitable for England, is not for you," the orator harangued the American republics. "No balance of powers, no complicated constitutions! Are your governors, who are removable, kings? Are your executive councils so many houses of lords? Do you, can you, have a representation other than the assemblies of citizens who are equal by nature and law?"[22]

Adams read Dr. Price's work while still at Auteuil. His acknowledgment of the copy sent him by the author was a typical Adamsian attempt at graciousness, never entirely free from pugnacity. "I think it may be said in praise of the citizens of the United States," he wrote, "that they are sincere inquirers after truth in matters of government and commerce; at least that there are among them as many, in proportion, of this liberal character, as any other country possesses."[23] He promised to write again. However, it was not Dr. Price's essay but Turgot's letter which excited him; he made notes only on the financial sections of the first, whereas he discussed the latter from beginning to end.

Soon afterwards Adams was transferred to London as American minister. It was there that news of violence in Massachu-

setts, of conventions demanding changes in the administration, and finally of Shays's rebellion reached him. Wishing to wash his hands "of the blood that was about to be shed in France, Europe, and America,"[24] in October 1786 he began his *Defence of the Constitutions of America* — a vast panorama of all the republican systems of antiquity, the Middle Ages, and modern times, proving that, contrary to Turgot's teachings, sound government can be built only upon the separation of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers and upon the division of the legislative power into three branches. The first volume reached Philadelphia in April 1787, just in time to affect the deliberations of the Convention. It was eagerly read by all the delegates. "Mr. Adams's book has diffused such excellent principles among us," Benjamin Rush wrote to Dr. Price on June 2, "that there is little doubt of our adopting a vigorous and compounded federal legislature. Our illustrious minister in this gift to his country has done us more service than if he had obtained alliances for us with all the nations of Europe."[25] Richard Henry Lee wrote Adams on September 3: "The judicious collection that you have made, with your just reflections thereon, have reached America at a great crisis, and will probably have their proper influence in forming the federal government now under consideration."[26]

The curious thing is that the *Defence* was written with no idea of influencing the debate on the Federal Constitution. "I scarcely knew that such a thing was in contemplation," Adams told a friend years later, "till I received it at the moment my third volume was about to issue from the press."[27] In the "Conclusion" of the first volume, he had, in fact, enthusiastically endorsed the opinion that "a single assembly was in every way adequate to the management of all . . . federal concerns"! And for the reason that "Congress is not a legislative assembly, not a representative assembly, but only a diplomatic assembly" — an assertion which was opposed by Jefferson, as "not entirely accurate, and not likely to do good."[28] The *Defence* was an "occasional" piece of writing, one of the most effective of its kind — and one achieving its effectiveness entirely by accident.

Adams's comments on Turgot's letter may be regarded as the core of the huge lumbering mass of his *Defence*. Their au-

thenticity is attested by Joseph Sabin, editor of the *Bibliotheca Americana,* who compiled the Corwin catalogue,[29] and also by contemporary notes in the volume itself. But after reading the first sentence no one would doubt, even without this special testimony, that the statements are by John Adams — and could not be by anybody else.

The comments follow one another so closely that a real dialogue ensues between Turgot and Adams. They are reproduced here precisely in that form. The excerpts from Turgot's letter are given in the translation published by Dr. Price, although the style has been somewhat modernized; Adams's notes are printed without change, with their original spelling and punctuation.

3

TURGOT'S letter was provoked by a passage in Dr. Price's *Additional Observations on Civil Liberty,* published in 1777. The Englishman referred to Turgot's administration and, after eulogizing his noble purposes and extraordinary achievements, remarked that his "want of address" was one of the causes of his dismissal from power.[30] Turgot, hurt by the censure, informed the author of the true reasons for his fall. From the second edition of his pamphlet, Dr. Price omitted the offending sentence and sent a copy, through Franklin, to the statesman.

It is with thanks for this courtesy that Turgot's letter begins. He reflects further upon his alleged tactlessness (*maladresse*), assuring Dr. Price that the political maturity of the French is fully equal to that of the English — as was proved by the "absurd project" of subjugating America:

Turgot: I might have deserved this imputation if you had meant no other want of address than incapacity to unravel the threads of those intrigues that were employed against me, by people much more adroit in such matters than I am, than I ever shall be, or ever desire to be . . .[31]

Adams: The cause of Mr. Turgot's dismission was not merely the want of skill to unravel intrigues: those intrigues were excited, encouraged and attended with Success by the headlong Spirit of System and Enthusiasm which appears in radiant distinct characters in this Letter.[32] He had an honest

Heart and great theoretical Knowledge; but was not a judicious practical Statesman.

T.: But I thought that you imputed to me the want of address of having deeply offended the public opinion of my nation; and in this respect, I believe, you did justice neither to me nor to my country, where there is much more enlightenment than is generally supposed among you, and where it is perhaps easier than with you to win the public over to reasonable ideas.

A.: This is very true. The French character in Arts, Science & Arms is very much, and very unjustly, as well as illiberally undervalued in England.

T.: I judge this by the infatuation of your nation on the absurd project of subjugating America, until Burgoyne's adventures began to open their eyes. I judge thus because of the system of monopoly and exclusion which prevails among all your political writers on commerce, except Mr. Adam Smith and Dean Tucker[33] — a system which has been the very reason of your separation from your colonies.

A.: The System of Monopoly & Exclusion here meant is probably the navigation act. This System is not peculiar to England: France, Spain, Portugal, Holland & all other Nations practice it, at least with regard to their Colonies. It is not to be doubted, that the abolition of it in all Nations would be a Blessing to Mankind: But it is a Question whether one Nation who should abolish it, while the Rest maintain it, would not be ruined by their liberality. National Pride is as natural as Self-love, or family pride, the Pride of one city, country, or Province, or the Esprit de Corps of an Army, Navy, an Ecclesiastical order, a Body of Merchants or Tradesmen, Farmers, or Comedians. It is, at present, the Bullwark of defense to all Nations. When it is lost, a Nation sinks below the character of Man.

The French statesman is surprised at the indifference which English authors have shown in the past twenty years toward the science of government; at their treating the question of the rights of nations and individuals as "vain metaphysics."[34] How did this come about? Is it because their condition has not been as bad as that of other nations that they have persuaded themselves it has been perfect?

T.: How is it that you are about the first among your men

of letters to expose the fallacy of that motion, harped upon by the most republican writers, that liberty consists in being subject to laws alone, as if a man who is oppressed by an unjust law could be free?

A.: Republican writers contend that Liberty consists in being subject to Equal laws only. If any have omitted the word *Equal,* they have supposed that a free People would make no other but Equal Laws.

T.: This would not be true even supposing that all laws were the work of the assembled nations; for, beyond all, the individual has also his rights, of which the nation cannot deprive him, except by violence and an unlawful use of the general power.[35]

A.: Laws may be unjust; the public will is not infallible. But personal Liberty must be restrained in some cases, so must Property.

T.: It is likewise strange that it should not be held a common truth in England that one nation has never any right to govern another nation . . . and that of all tyrannies, the tyranny of a people is the most cruel and the most intolerable, the one which leaves the fewest resources to the oppressed nation. For, after all, a despot is restrained by a sense of his own interest, he is checked by remorse or by public opinion, but the multitude never calculates, is checked by no remorse . . .

A.: This is too general. The Multitude in Rome calculated and were checked by remorse, more than 600 years. Multitudes in all free cities and Republics, while uncorrupted, calculate and blush. The Multitudes in Monarchies are no true Similitudes of multitudes educated in vertuous Republics.

T.: Recent events are a terrible commentary on your book for the English nation! The fate of America is already decided — she is independent now for ever.[36] But will she be free and happy?

A.: Yes.

T.: Can this new people placed so advantageously to give the world the example of a constitution under which man may enjoy all his rights, exercise all his faculties, and be governed only by nature, reason, and justice — can they form such a constitution?

A.: The new Jerusalem, the Kingdom of the Just, if it is to exist, upon Earth, is not yet to be built. Knowledge & virtue must become more general through the World than they yet are, even in America, before this ravishing Scene can be realized to exist anywhere but in imagination.

T.: Can they establish it upon a never-failing foundation, and guard against every source of division and corruption which may gradually undermine and destroy it?

A.: No.

4

AND here begins Turgot's criticism of the new constitutions of the American states — which is the crux of his letter. Six constitutions — those of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina — were included in the *Recueil des Lois Constitutives des Colonies Angloises;* and with the exception of those of Pennsylvania and South Carolina, they were all founded on the bicameral system.[37] Turgot found such a structure of government contrary to the principles of democracy. His letter to Dr. Price was confidential, but it is most unlikely that his friends were ignorant of it. They, too, vehemently opposed the division of the legislative power into three branches, and extolled Franklin for having founded the constitution of Pennsylvania upon a single assembly. This was what Adams, who saw nothing but bloodshed and chaos resulting from concentrating all power in one authority, set out to combat in his *Defence.*

T.: I confess that I am not pleased with the constitutions which have been drawn up by the different states of America up to this time.[38]

A.: This Letter, with all his real merit, demonstrates that he was no Judge of a Good Constitution: it was a subject he had not studied & he had not Practice & Experience enough in the rest for such work as the formation of a Government.

T.: It is with reason that you reproach the State of Pennsylvania for exacting a religious test from members of the house of representatives. The case is even worse in other states;

there is one (I believe, the Jerseys) which requires a declaration of faith in the divinity of Jesus Christ.[39]

A.: This Enmity to Test has my most hearty good wishes and prayers. I would try the Experiment whether a State can exist without a shadow of a test.

T.: I observe that most of them imitate, without any real necessity, the customs of England. Instead of collecting all authority into one center, that of the nation, they have established different bodies; a body of representatives, a council, and a governor, because there is in England a house of commons, a house of lords, and a King.

A.: Is it possible that the Writer of this Paragraph should have ever read Plato, Livy, Polybius, Machiavel, Sidney, Harrington;[40] or that he should ever have thought of the nature of Man or of a Society? What does he mean by collecting all authority into one center? What does he mean by the center of a nation? Where would he have the Legislation placed? Where is the Execution? Where the decision of controversies? Emptier piece of declamation I never read: it is impossible to give a greater Proof of Ignorance.

T.: They endeavor to balance these different powers, as if this equilibrium, which in England may be a necessary check to the enormous influence of royalty, could be of any use in republics founded upon the equality of all the citizens . . .

A.: Is it possible that any good government should exist without an Equilibrium?

T.: . . . and as if establishing different orders of men were not a source of divisions.

A.: Would we have no different Orders?

T.: In attempting to prevent imaginary dangers, they create real ones; and in their desire to have nothing to fear from the clergy, they unite them by a common prescription.

A.: He is right. The Clergy ought not to be excluded.

T.: The clergy are dangerous only when they exist as a distinct body in the state, and think themselves as possessing special rights and interests and a religion "established" by law, as if men had a right to regulate the conscience of others . . .

A.: The Rights of conscience are original Rights and cannot be alienated; they are the first Rights and prescribe the

first duties of Man and should be explicitly reserved out of every social compact.[41]

Next Turgot deprecates the vagueness of state powers and discusses the uses of local assemblies. The views of the statesman who prepared the plan of a new constitution for France based entirely upon the clear definition of the spheres of power of the town, county, and provincial assembles should have deserved attention. However, in making these comments in 1785, Adams did not know of Turgot's vast project. The statesman's *Mémoire sur les Municipalités,*[42] beginning with the bold statement, "The cause of the trouble, Sire, is that your nation has no Constitution at all . . . ," was composed in the fall of 1775, but it was never submitted to the King, and was first discussed publicly by Condorcet in his *Vie de Turgot,* in 1776.[43]

T.: I do not think they have been careful enough to reduce the affairs with which the state governments are charged to the smallest possible number; nor to separate the tasks of legislation from those of the general or local administration . . .

A.: This Idea is totally repugnant to what he said against the Equilibrium.

T.: . . . nor to establish permanent local assemblies . . .

A.: Here he supposed the Americans had no Laws but the little volume of Constitutions then published. They have Town meetings & Courts of Session enough.

T.: . . . which, by discharging almost all the detailed functions of government, would relieve the general assemblies from attending to these, and thus deprive their members of every means of abusing a power which should be applied only to general objects.

A.: The legislative assemblies in free Governments will allways be sought as a school, or as a theatre to learn or to display accomplishments, to acquire the public Confidence & a Reputation. Administration will look in this Place for men to fill offices. You cannot deprive the Members of the Means, as long as the Assembly is respected and has any thing to do, nor of the desire of acquiring Offices, Employment, Profits, Power, &; where ever these desires are, there will be Excesses.

T.: I do not find that they have attended to the great distinction . . . between land-holders and those who are not land-

holders; to their interests, and consequently to their different rights . . .

A.: These things were all settled by ancient laws in the several States.

T.: No fixed principles of taxation have been established . . . Each state may maintain an interest contrary to that of the other states.

A.: This is a great point and a knotty one.

T.: They all suppose to have a right to regulate commerce . . . So far are they yet from realizing that the law of complete freedom of commerce is the corollary of the right to property; so deep are they still immersed in the mist of European illusions.

A.: The Right of Property is here carried a great length. It might as well be said that any Exemption from Taxes is a corollary from the right of Property. Can we say that Government had no Right to regulate the Commerce of individuals? Americans are, no doubt, involved in the Mist of many European Illusions; but I am not clear that this is so universally an illusion. An Enemy to Embargoes, Prohibitions, Exclusions &c in general, I cannot swear that they are always unlawful or impolitick.

5

THE *Recueil* also contained a translation of what purported to be the Articles of Confederation, "resolved upon and signed in Congress, at Philadelphia, on October 4, 1776." It was reprinted from the fifteenth number of the *Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique,* where it had been presented as a great "scoop."[44] In a later issue, the writer, "a London banker," had proudly boasted: "I do not know whether the British government was informed of the document which is now spread all over Europe; but it seems to have produced in London the same sensation as everywhere else . . ."[45] One may doubt, however, that the British government was altogether ignorant in the matter, considering that the London banker did not devote his reportorial talents exclusively to the American cause; he also served, for very good pay, as a British spy. He was Dr. Edward

Bancroft, a native of Westfield, Massachusetts, a secretary of the American Commissioners in Paris, whom Franklin had befriended and trusted to the end.[46]

The "Articles" which appeared in the *Affaires* and subsequently in the *Recueil,* was a draft presented to the Committee at Philadelphia on August 20, 1776. Eighty copies were printed originally, one for each member of Congress, who was enjoined not to furnish anyone with information about it.[47] Reading the *Recueil,* Adams of course recognized that what appeared there was not the final Articles of Confederation. "This is false," he noted in his copy, "the Confederation was never signed nor resolved in Congress. But another very different passed in Congress in November 1777."[48]

The result of endless compromising, the final Articles of Confederation was a weak instrument, as the Committee itself well knew.[49] The defects of the draft, which he read, were glaring to Turgot, accustomed as he was to a supreme central authority. But he concentrated chiefly on two aspects of the document: a *philosophe,* he admonished the new republics against narrow nationalism, and, an apostle of *laissez-faire,* he condemned the setting up of commercial barriers:

T.: In the general union of the states I do not see a coalition, a fusion of all the parts, to form a homogeneous body. This is only a jumble of communities too discordant, and retaining a constant tendency to separation, because of the diversity in their laws, customs, and opinions . . .[50]

A.: Americans must consider more soberly than Mr. Turgot did, what is practicable & what is not. One homogeneous Body cannot be made out of such heterogeneous Parts scattered over such an immense Continent.

T.: It is only a copy of the Dutch Republic; and the latter had nothing to fear, as the American Republic has, from the future possible increase of some of her provinces.

A.: The Dutch Republic had infinitely more to fear from the disproportionate Grandeur of Holland than the American has from the possible increase of any one of the Provinces.

T.: All this edifice has been hitherto supported upon the erroneous foundation of the most ancient and vulgar policy . . .

A.: The Americans had not studied Dr. Quesnay.

T.: . . . upon the prejudice that nations and states, as such, may have an interest distinct from that which individuals have in order to be free . . .; an interest, not in buying foreign merchandise, but in forcing the foreigner to consume their produce and manufactures; an interest in possessing vaster territories . . . in inspiring other nations with awe, and gaining an ascendancy over them in the glory of the arts, sciences, and arms.

A.: This Policy is so vulgar, that is, so consonant with the feelings of Men that it will be long before it can be fully eradicated. Principles more liberal may become general and they cannot be too much recommended and inculcated. But it is a Question whether they can be adopted by one Nation without Reserve, before they become so general that several Nations shall be ripe to adopt them.

T.: Some of these prejudices are fomented in Europe, for the ancient rivalry of nations and the ambition of princes compel every state to keep up an armed force . . .

A.: The ambition of Princes is the ambition of Nations. They are stimulated by the Cries and Ardour of the People and are forced away by the Public Passion and Opinion.

T.: America is likely to enjoy, for a long time, the good fortune of having no external enemy to dread, provided she is not divided within herself.

A.: America will have external Enemies to dread longer than seems to be here supposed. This may be no harm, for, when she has no Enemy, she will be in danger of dividing.

T.: She should appreciate, therefore, at their real value, these presumed interests, these sources of discord which alone are likely to threaten her liberty. By that sacred principle which considers freedom of commerce as a consequence of the right of property, all the presumed interests of national commerce vanish. The interest to possess more or less territory disappears by the principle that the territory belongs not to the nations but to the individual proprietors of the land.

A.: I beg leave to propose that the whole Earth should be divided into independent Republics of six Miles Square; that Wars should for ever cease, Commerce be free as Light and Air, as well as Religion; that all Men should be wise and virtuous; no more Jealousy, Envy, Avarice or Ambition; Amen.

T.: There can be no advantage in being feared . . . when one is in a situation in which he cannot be attacked by a considerable force with any hope of success.

A.: When the American States are in a situation not to be attacked, they will have no interest in being feared.

T.: The glory of arms is not worth the happiness of living in peace.

A.: Very true.

T.: The glory of arts and sciences belongs to every man who wishes to take part in it. There is ample harvest here for the whole world. The field of discovery is boundless, and all profit by the discoveries of all.

A.: This honour will not prevent Men from priding themselves in the Glory of a country man.

In advising the American states to form a closer union, the former Comptroller-General of France sees the difficulties of the task:

T.: I imagine that the Americans are not aware of these truths as they ought to be in order to insure the happiness of their posterity. I do not blame their leaders. They had to provide for the necessity of the moment by a union such as this, against a present and most formidable enemy.

A.: Their leaders were indeed to be pitied: forced on an Enterprise against their Wills, unprovided in all Respects, and the Route as unprepared as they.

T.: There was no time to think of correcting the errors of the constitutions and deciding upon the composition of the various states . . .

A.: This is reasonable enough.

T.: . . . but they ought to beware of perpetuating these errors, and ought to endeavor to harmonize the opinions and interests, relating them to uniform principles, in all their provinces.

A.: Uniform Principles would be very desirable.

T.: To accomplish this, they have great obstacles to surmount: In Canada, an order of the Roman Catholic clergy and a body of nobles.[51] In New England, the still existing spirit of rigid Puritanism, which is said to have been always somewhat intolerant. In Pennsylvania, a large number of inhabitants

holding it as a religious principle that the possession of arms is unlawful . . . In the Southern colonies, a too great inequality of fortune, and particularly the presence of the many blacks, whose slavery is incompatible with a good political constitution, and who even if emancipated would cause great embarassment by forming a second nation in the same state.

A.: To this may be now added an Order of Cincinnatus which will do us more harm than the Canadian Clergy, and Nobles, the north East puritanical Spirit, the Quakers pacific Principles, or the Negroes in the South. There is too great an inequality of fortune in all the States; but how to find a Remedy? This inequality of the Order of Cincinnatus is however, more pernicious than all this inequality of fortunes.[52]

T.: In all the colonies, they have to surmount various prejudices; a vanity in those which think themselves to be the most powerful; and the wretched symptoms of national pride.

A.: Did Mr. Turgot suppose it possible to eradicate national Pride? or that it would be safe, if practicable, for one Nation to eradicate it, unless all did?

6

IT is agriculture, not war, that Turgot recommends to the Americans for their development. They must not neglect the immense territories to the West, otherwise their exiles and fugitives, allying themselves with the savages, will take possession of the land and — lurid fantasy of a European! — "will ravage America as the Barbarians of the North ravaged the Roman Empire." But he hopes for the best:

T.: The colonies close to the frontier will be more inured to war than the others, and this inequality in military strength will prove a terrible spur to ambition. The remedy for this inequality would be a standing army, to which every state should contribute in proportion to its population.[53]

A.: A standing army, instead of being a Remedy, would increase the danger by increasing the inequality.

T.: But the Americans . . . dread nothing so much as a standing army. They are wrong. There should be nothing easier than to combine a standing army with the militia, in such a

manner as to improve the militia and gain additional security for liberty.

A.: This Letter is a Mass of wild, inconsistent Reveries & Paradoxes.

T.: There are plenty of difficulties; and perhaps the secret interests of powerful individuals will be joined to the prejudices of the multitude to frustrate the efforts of the truly wise and good citizens.

A.: The Order of Cincinnatus is an horrid Proof and Instance of this.

T.: It is impossible not to pray that this people may arrive at all the prosperity of which they are capable. They are the hope of mankind. They may become a model to it . . .

A.: Mr. Turgot is very good.

T.: They must prove to the world by deeds, that men can be free and yet peaceful . . . They must give an example of political, religious, and commercial liberty.

A.: They have exhibited an Example of political, religious, and commercial liberty. But Europe will poison them, if she can.

T.: The facility with which the oppressed may escape from bad governments will compel the governments to be just and enlightened; and the rest of the world will perhaps open their eyes upon the empty illusions with which they have been cheated by politicians.

A.: It is a Pity, too, but Politicians should open their Eyes upon the empty Illusions with which they have been cheated by Soldiers, by Priests, by Merchants, by Mechanicks, and even by Husbandmen and Shepherds. Politicians are cheated as often as they cheat, & the way to improve Society & reform the World, is to enlighten Men, spread Knowledge, & convince the Multitude that they have, or may have, Sense, Knowledge, & Virtue. Declamations against the cunning of Politicians & the ignorance, folly, inconstancy or Effrontery of the Multiude will never do it.

T.: All right-thinking men, all friends of humanity, should at this moment unite their lights and join their reflections to those of the wise Americans to help their legislation. This, Sir, would be well worthy of you . . .

A.: The enlightened friends to humanity may throw out

some Hints which may be usefull: but, from what is past, I do not flatter myself very much. Their advice will contain bad Hints as well as good; and the subject is much better understood in America than by any who have yet given their advice, tho' these are equal probably to any who exist in Europe.

T.: Our two nations are about doing much harm to each other, probably without either of them gaining any real profit. The increase of debts and public burdens (perhaps a national bankruptcy), and the loss of many lives will be the only result.

A.: France had a prospect of real advantages & has obtained them: she has disabled and disarmed her Enemy, she has obtained an Island, has extended her fishery and her commerce, sett Dunkirk free, obtained the Friendship of Holland, & alienated her from England; she has strengthened her ally Spain and raised her own character, both in the Cabinet & in the field and on the Ocean: she has in short turned the tide of human affairs in her favor and against her Enemy.

7

AT the end Turgot predicts that England will lose the war. Yet this may be the only means to save her from "the gangrene of luxury and corruption" and induce her to amend her constitution. In the final paragraph — ironically enough for one so ready to advise the English about freedom — the statesman begs his correspondent to keep his communication secret and not to answer by mail, for the letter will be opened at the French post offices, and he will be found "much too great a friend of liberty for a minister, even for a discarded minister."

Adams made no comment on the passage. During his stay in Paris he must have heard that Turgot, when in office, had opposed the French government's taking any action on behalf of America that might lead to hostilities with Great Britain, but he could not know the memorial which Turgot had submitted to the King on the subject. Spain had tried to ascertain what help she might expect from France in case of war with England, and influential circles advocated a forceful policy, while the Comte de Vergennes, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was in favor of maintaining peace. Louis, wishing to have

a thorough discussion of the problem, asked for the opinion of his cabinet. Turgot's report, dated April 6, 1766, is the only one which has been preserved. It was discovered during the Revolution in the archives of the King.[54]

In that paper Turgot examined all the alternatives set forth by Vergennes concerning the Anglo-American war. One of these was that in case of the defeat of the Colonies England might endanger the peace of Europe. Turgot was convinced that the subjection of the Colonies could not be kept up for any length of time, for England would be compelled to maintain a military force in them that would in time exhaust her completely. "Of all the possible views that one might take of the war," he wrote, "the conquest of the Colonies would offer the perspective of the longest and most solid peace between France and England, for the simple reason that England would be unable to undertake any other enterprise."[55] But Turgot did not believe in the likelihood of English victory at all; he thought that "the course of events, sooner or later, will inevitably lead to the complete independence of the Colonies." As to the future, military commanders might gain ascendance; however, in the prudence, courage, and intelligence of the Americans he saw proofs that "they intend to give a firm foundation to their government." Like Vergennes, Turgot rejected the idea of a preventive war, which would have strained finances to the utmost. Further, he wrote, "an attack upon England would lead to a reconciliation with the Colonies and would precipitate the danger which we want to avoid."[56]

To be sure, the *mémoire* was written by the minister rather than the philosopher; it considered, above everything else, the interests of France. Turgot's apprehensiveness of a quick peace between England and the Colonies seems to justify Charles Francis Adams's remark that his conclusions were "worthy of Machiavel himself." Reading it dispassionately, however, the passage does not show that Turgot was against the reconciliation itself; all that can be said is that he did not want to bring it about by an attack upon England, by getting France into a war. And certainly the document does not bear out Charles Francis Adams's imputation that "the most desirable result he considered to be a long and exhausting contest in America, end-

ing in the victory of Great Britain, but not without the utter ruin of the resources of the refractory colonies."[57] It was Vergennes who envisaged the possibility of the defeat of the Colonies; Turgot, in commenting upon the foreign minister's paper, merely pointed out that even such a situation would not be a danger to France, for it would mean the permanent weakening of England.

An ailing middle-aged bachelor, Turgot spent his last years in serene retirement. Elected President of the Académie des Sciences, he attended many of the meetings, and devoted much of his time to mathematical studies, physical and chemical experiments, translating Virgil, Horace, and Ariosto — and to conversing with his friends, Lavoisier, d'Alembert, Condorcet, and others. His prestige was undiminished. Even his contemporaries, writers constantly warring with one another, referred to him as "the great Turgot." Frederick, King of Prussia, and Joseph, Emperor of Austria, looked upon him with admiration. His career, in spite of its final defeat, assumed a symbolic importance.

His interest in America persisted. Lest the new republics adopt the English system, he prepared a note for Franklin emphasizing the advantages of direct taxation. As Franklin remained doubtful, he worked out the problem in greater detail. Unfortunately, only fragments of the two papers have been preserved.[58] He also began a larger work to be called *Réflexions sur la Situation des Américains Unis,* but even his notes are lost. "He hoped to present in it," Du Pont de Nemours writes, "all the counsels which that new country might have needed, the institutions which might have been necessary, the reefs which should have been avoided, and the laws and jurisprudence which it has had to establish."[59] Almost all his letters to Du Pont contain remarks about the American war — some of them quite pessimistic.[60]

He corresponded with Dr. Price until his death. Sharing Turgot's view of America as a possible asylum for the oppressed of all nations, the Englishman suggested in one of his letters that the American war might be of the greatest service to mankind. "I look indeed to the New World with satisfaction and triumph," he wrote, "and the time probably will come when a

great part of Europe will be flocking to a country where unmolested by spiritual and civil tyranny, they will be able to enjoy in safety the exercise of reason and the rights of man." Turgot, by then, felt less sanguine. "I shall say no more about the Americans," he replied, "for whatever the outcome of the present war, I have somewhat lost hope of seeing on the earth a nation which is really free and lives without war. This spectacle is reserved for centuries very far away . . ."[61]

Notes

1. *Works of John Adams,* Boston 1850–55 IV, 299–300. (Referred to below as *Works.*)

2. The American reprints contained an English translation of Turgot's letter, without the original text, which was inserted in the first London edition only. The second London edition of 1785 included both the French text and an English translation; it was in a copy of this edition that Adams made his comments.

3. S. E. Morison, *The Oxford History of the United States,* Oxford 1927, I, 75–81.

4. Lewis Rosenthal, *America and France,* New York 1882, includes many apt quotations from Chastellux's *Voyages,* Raynal's *Révolution de l'Amérique,* Crèvecoeur's *Lettres,* Deslandes's *Discours,* the Abbé Robin's *Voyages dans l'Amérique Septentrionale,* etc., and from French magazines and newspapers. See also Bernard Faÿ, *Bibliographie Critique des Ouvrages Français aux États-Unis,* Paris 1925, 8–25.

5. *Catalogue of Books, Tracts, Autographs of the late Mr. E. B. Corwin which will be sold at auction commencing November 10, 1856.* Price's *Importance of the American Revolution,* bound together with his *Essay on the Population of England,* was no. 3607.

6. Correa Moyland Walsh, *The Political Science of John Adams,* New York 1915, 14. This is an unusually penetrating study — itself a valuable contribution to political science.

7. Quesnay's main work — the manifesto of his group — was the *Tableau Économique,* printed in 1758. The physiocrats regarded agriculture as the sole source of wealth, and thought of the work of everyone except the cultivators of the land as sterile. They advocated free trade; the motto of *laissez faire et laissez passer* originated with them. Turgot's chief contribution to political economy was the *Réflexions sur la Formation des Richesses,* published in 1765.

8. Alphonse Jobez, *La France sous Louis XVI,* Paris 1871, I, 337.

9. In the Parliament the King seated himself on a throne when wishing to make a proclamation that he regarded as final.

10. Épitre CIX, *Oeuvres Complètes,* 1784, XIII, 283 — the opening lines of the poem are:

> Philosophe indulgent, ministre citoyen,
> Qui ne cherchais le vrai que pour faire le bien,
> Qui d'un peuple léger, et trop ingrat peut-être,
> Préparais le bonheur et celui de son maître,
> Ce qu'on nomme disgrâce a payé tes bienfaits.
> Le vrai prix du travail n'est que de vivre en paix . . .

11. The Turgot literature is, of course, very extensive. A few of the outstanding works are: the first volume of Alphonse Jobez's *La France sous Louis XVI,* Paris 1877, is entirely devoted to Turgot; Alfred Neymarck's two-volume *Turgot et ses Doctrines,* Paris 1885, contains a vast amount of information; and then there is Gustave Schelle's definitive *Oeuvres de Turgot,* Paris 1913–23, in five volumes. References will be given here to this edition. Schelle's work supersedes Du Pont de Nemours, *Oeuvres de M. Turgot,* 9 volumes, 1809–11, and Daire et Dussard, *Oeuvres de Turgot,* 2 volumes, 1844. The best recent book on Turgot in English is Douglas Dakin, *Turgot and the Ancien Régime in France,* London 1939.

12. *Works,* III, 117. Two treaties were signed by the representatives of France and America on February 6, 1778. The first pledged the two nations to protect each other's ships; and the second provided for a defensive and offensive alliance in case the first treaty led to hostilities between France and England.

13. Rosenthal (*op. cit.,* 59–60) exaggerates the solemnity of Adams's reception. The "salute of thirteen guns" was not fired by the city in his honor, but by the Captain of the *Boston* in honor of the fort of Bordeaux. There were thirteen "shots" for Adams at a convivial dinner; but, by actual count, no less than one hundred and twenty-one such shots were fired on the occasion — the last twenty-one "for the French and American ladies." Adams does not state what kind of fire-works they were. (*Works,* III, 119.)

14. *Works,* III, 122. The duchess was the widow of Nicolas de la Rochefoucauld, duc d'Enville, who in 1745 led the ill-fated expedition against Annapolis. Her palace in Paris and her country home at Roche-Guyon were centers of the radical intellectuals.

15. *Ibid.,* 176.

16. On board the *Sensible,* on his return trip to America after his first stay in France, Adams had many conversations with Barbé de Marbois, the secretary of the French mission to Philadelphia. He took a liking to the "tall, genteel man," with "a countenance extremely pleasant" (one of whose tasks was to keep an eye on him in America). Turgot figured prominently in their talks. "I said," Adams noted in his Diary, "that I had the pleasure to dine often with M. Turgot at his house and at ours; that Mr. Franklin was very intimate with M. Turgot, who I thought was a very good man." Marbois judged the fallen minister "a little too systematical, and a little too enthusiastical." Adams defended him by insisting that "enthusiasm was sometimes a very good quality, at least very useful." Marbois, however, remained convinced that enthusiasm would not do "when opposed by millions of people of great weight," and Adams thought that the agent was "one of the best informed and most reflecting men he had known in France." (*Op. cit.,* III, 216.)

Marbois made rapid progress at Philadelphia. He was that "foreigner of distinction" at whose request Jefferson wrote his *Notes on Virginia* in 1781–2.

He was also the M. Marbois who during the peace negotiations with Great Britain secretly advised his government against supporting the American claims to the Newfoundland fisheries — an intrigue which induced the infuriated Adams to deal with the British over the heads of the French. An exile during the Revolution, Marbois served Napoleon and three of his successors with equal devotion. It was he who arranged the terms of the sale of Louisiana to America.

17. The Comte de Vergennes, Minister of Foreign Affairs, must have encouraged the enterprise, for the royal censor, Jean-Baptiste Robinet, was one of the editors. However, secrecy had to be maintained; no editor's name was given, and the fictitious imprint "A Anvers" was used. (For a bibliography of the periodical, compiled by Paul Leicester Ford, see the July 1889 issue of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.*) Adams, too, supplied information, and wrote anonymous articles for the *Affaires.* (*Works,* VII, 59 note.) He was a diligent reader of the magazine; whenever he saw his name mentioned, he copied it out on the margin.

18. John Adams to Samuel Perley, June 19, 1809. *Works,* IX, 622.

19. "Mr. Turgot, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, and Mr. Condorcet and others, admired Mr. Franklin's Constitution and reprobated mine . . ." *Ibid.,* 623.

20. Claude-Ambroise Régnier, a lawyer from Nancy, who was to play an important part in the Napoleonic era. In 1802 he became Minister of Justice, and was one of the chief editors of the Code Napoléon. In 1809 he was made "Duc de Massa."

21. Quoted by Rosenthal, *cp. cit.,* 67–68.

22. *Considérations sur l'ordre de Cincinnatus,* London 1785, 326. See also note 52.

23. *Works,* VIII, 232.

24. Letter to Samuel Perley, June 19, 1809. *Works,* IX, 623.

25. *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787,* edited by Max Farrand, New Haven 1911, III, 33.

26. *Works,* IX, 553. Correa M. Walsh points out the influence of the *Defence* on the speeches of Hamilton, Gouverneur Morris, Charles C. Pinckney, William R. Davie, and others before the Convention. (*Op. cit.,* 305–11.) Further references (to Max Farrand's edition of the *Records of the Federal Convention*) are given by Gilbert Chinard (*Honest John Adams,* Boston 1931, 212–13.) Many more testimonies to this influence may be found in Adams's correspondence. (Walsh, *Adams,* 2.)

27. Letter to Samuel Perley, June 19, 1809. *Works,* IX, 624.

28. *Works,* IV, 579. Jefferson's letter to Adams, written from Paris on February 23, 1787, is printed in a footnote.

29. "Dr. Franklin's copy, with the addition of 20 pages of MS. notes by Mr. John Adams, Minister Plenipotentiary of the U. S." *Op. cit.,* 181.

30. *Op. cit.,* 151. In a letter to him, Condorcet expressed Turgot's difficulties in a different way: "Vous n'êtes point du tout *charlatan* et c'est un défaut, vu ce qu'on est à Paris ou à Versailles!" *Corréspondence de Condorcet et de Turgot,* edited by Charles Henry, Paris 1892, 250.

31. *Op. cit.,* V, 533.

32. See note 16. Marbois's remarks *did* make an impression upon Adams.

33. Adam Smith, then tutor of the young Duke of Buccleugh, spent the better part of 1766 in Paris, where he frequented the society of Quesnay, Turgot, Helvetius, Morellet, and others. "Turgot thought very highly of his tal-

ents," Morellet wrote. "We discussed the theory of commerce, banking, public credit, and many points of his great work, the *Wealth of Nations,* which he was meditating." (*Oeuvres de Turgot,* I, 32.) Smith agrees in most fundamentals with the physiocrats; and Turgot's *Réflexions* left its imprint on his work.

Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester (1712–99), was held in great esteem by the French economists. Turgot translated into French two of his books — his *Reflections on the Naturalization of Foreign Protestants,* in 1755, and his *The Case of Going to War for the Sake of Trade.* The latter, entitled *Guerres de Commerce,* remained unpublished and the manuscript is lost.

34. The allusion, as Mirabeau (or rather Jean Target, who prepared the notes for his work) recognized, was to Edmund Burke's *Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol,* 1777, a criticism of the British government's war measures against America. (*Op. cit.,* 188.) Burke's *Letter,* in spite of its good intentions, made a scornful reference to "certain recent discussions" of liberty — evidently Dr. Price's *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty,* 1777. "There are people," he wrote, "who have split and anatomized the doctrine of free government, as if it were an abstract question concerning metaphysical liberty and necessity . . ." Here is the phrase to which Turgot took exception. He must have read the French translation of Burke's *Letter* which appeared in the *Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique* (Nos. XXII, 81–91, XXIII, 131–56.)

35. The chapter of the *Defence* devoted to Dr. Price treats of this question at greater length, Adams agreeing with Turgot that it is not enough that laws should be equal and made by common consent. "To take in M. Turgot's idea," he writes, "we must add . . . this other — for the *general interest* or the *public good.*" (*Works,* IV, 402.) Turgot's idea, however, was evidently something else.

36. The young Turgot's baccalaureate oration, *Tableau Philosophique des Progrès Successifs de l'Esprit Humain,* which is regarded as the first formulation of the doctrine of progress, contains this prophecy of the American Revolution: "The Colonies are like fruit which cling to the tree until they are ripe; becoming self-sufficient, they do what Carthage did and what America will do some day." *Oeuvres,* I, 222.

37. The Constitution of Pennsylvania adopted a single assembly, abolished the office of governor, and provided for an executive council of twelve. The Constitution of South Carolina provided for a general assembly and a legislative council. In his copy of the *Recueil* Adams compared the preambles of the Constitutions of Virginia and Pennsylvania, noting the similarity or identity of the articles. Finally he wrote on a blank leaf:

"The following Constitution of Pennsylvania was well known by such as were in the Secret to have been principally prepared by Timothy Matlack, James Cameron, Thomas Paine, and Thomas Young, all ingenious men, but none of them deeply read in the Science of Legislation. The Bill of Rights is taken almost verbatim from that of Virginia which was made and published before the other was begun, as may be seen by a Comparison of the two and their dates. The Frame of Government is the worst that has been established in America, and will be found so in Experience. It has weakened that State, divided it, and by that Means embarrassed and obstructed the American Cause more than any other Thing."

The second Constitution of Pennsylvania, of 1790, introduced the bicameral system, restored the office of governor, and abolished the executive council. The second Constitution of South Carolina, adopted in 1778, divided the gen-

eral assembly into two distinct bodies, a senate and a house of representatives.

38. *Oeuvres,* V, 534.

39. It was the Constitution of Delaware which demanded such an oath. New Jersey proclaimed that "all persons, professing a belief in the faith of any Protestant sect . . . shall be capable of being elected into any office of profit or trust."

40. These were some of the chief "philosophers" whose writings Adams was to incorporate into his *Defence.*

41. Adams, the "putative father" of the Constitution of Massachusetts, was not responsible for the third article of its Declaration of Rights, which, by compulsory taxation, provided only "for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality," giving equal protection of the law to "every denomination of Christians." This article was prepared by a special committee, after Adams's incomplete draft had been rejected. At the Convention of 1821, to which he was a delegate, Adams proposed that "all men of all religions" be substituted for "men of every denomination of Christians," but in vain. The state support was finally withdrawn from the churches and the protection of the law extended to "all religious sects and denominations" by the 11th Amendment adopted in 1833. (*Works,* IV, 221–24; S. E. Morison, *A History of the Constitution of Massachusetts,* Boston 1917, 23–24, 32, 38.)

42. *Oeuvres,* IV, 568–628.

43. Condorcet, *op. cit.,* 137–51. An edition of Turgot's *Mémoire* was prepared by Du Pont de Nemours for the Assembly of Notables in 1787. (*Oeuvres,* IV, 570.) By the time of writing his *Defence,* Adams *may* have read about Turgot's plan. (*Cf.* C. M. Walsh, *op. cit.,* 14–15.)

44. Under the date of January 7, 1777 (erroneously printed 1776).

45. In no. XVII, under the date of February 24, 1777.

46. "These 'Lettres d'un Banquier' were written, so I have seen stated, by Dr. Edward Bancroft." (Paul Leicester Ford, *op. cit., 222.*) Bancroft, a member of the Royal Society, lived in Franklin's house. Besides his frequent travels to London, he had an ingenious way of supplying information to the British. He placed his letters, written in invisible ink, in a sealed bottle which he deposited in a hollow tree near the Tuileries, to be collected there every Tuesday evening by a messenger, who in turn left another bottle with instructions for him. In 1784 Bancroft made a proposal to the British Cabinet for the "recovery of the sovereignty of the New United States." A respected scientist, he died in 1821. His treachery was not discovered until some seventy years later. (For the activities of the spies in British pay, see S. F. Bemis, "British Secret Service and the French-American Alliance" in *The American Historical Review,* 1923–24, 474–95; Lewis Einstein, *Divided Loyalties: Americans in England during the War of Independence,* London 1933, 3–50.)

47. *Secret Journals of Congress,* Boston 1820, I, 287.

48. The error of the *Affaires* is remarkable, considering the magazine's connection with Franklin, who had received a copy of the draft of August 20 while still in America. It is even more surprising that the mistake was left uncorrected in the *Recueil,* published several months after the Articles of Confederation had been adopted.

49. The *first* draft of a Confederacy, or "League of Friendship," was presented by Franklin to Congress on July 21, 1775. This was shelved, and it was only a year later that Congress appointed a committee to prepare a *second*

draft, which was submitted, in the handwriting of John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, on July 12, 1776. Yielding to the demand of the small states, it recommended a system in which each state had one vote, instead of the proportional representation suggested by Franklin. But even this draft appeared to some members as one which invested Congress with too strong a power, and on August 20 a *third* draft was substituted. After many interruptions in the debate, in the fall of 1777 an agreement was reached, and the Articles passed Congress on November 15. In its circular letter to the states, the committee proposed it "as the best which could be adapted to the circumstances of all, and as that alone which affords any tolerable prospect of general ratification." Joseph Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States,* Boston 1833, I, 209–23.

50. *Oeuvres,* V, 536.

51. Evidently Turgot regarded the union of Canada with the United States as inevitable. Mirabeau shared his opinion. (*Op. cit.,* 197.) To be sure, the Articles of Confederation left the door open for Canada.

52. The Society of the Cincinnati was organized, at the suggestion of General Henry Knox, on May 13, 1783, at Baron Steuben's headquarters near Fishkill. Its aim, according to their "Institution," was to unite the officers who fought in the War in order to perpetuate their friendship, to enable them to deliberate in secret on the welfare of the Union, and to hand on their honor to their descendants. They adopted a badge — a bald eagle suspended from a blue ribbon. The right of membership was also extended to a number of French officers; the founding charter bears the signatures of seventy-two American and twenty-five French officers, the list headed by Washington, who was elected President-General.

The formation of the Society was received with alarm by the people and by many leading statesmen. Aedanus Burke, one of the chief justices of South Carolina, published a pamphlet in October 1783 to prove that the Society "creates a race of hereditary patricians." His work was reprinted in every state (and was translated by Mirabeau into French). Countless lampoons and broadsides denounced the Society in violent terms. Franklin ridiculed it as an attempt to set up an "hereditary knighthood," Samuel Adams saw in it a stride toward an "hereditary military nobility," and John Adams condemned it as "an order of chivalry," as "the first step taken to deface the beauty of our temple of liberty. He replied tartly to Lafayette, who, as one of the members, tried to explain their purposes to him: "It is against our confederation, and against the constitutions of several states; it is against the spirit of our governments and the genius of our people."

Later, however, as he veered more and more toward the idea of a nobility, John Adams's opinion changed. In the third volume of his *Defence,* published in 1788, he criticized the Society solely on the ground that it was established without consulting the people. He had, in fact, a highly original contribution to make. The gentlemen, he thought by then, "should have taken measures for calling conventions of the people, where it should have been determined, first, whether any such distinction should be introduced; secondly, how many such orders; thirdly, what number of individuals of each; and, lastly, there should have been in convention a general election of noblemen for each of the thirteen states." (*Works,* IX, 524, VIII, 192, V, 488–89; John B. McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States,* New York 1896, I. 167–76.)

53. *Oeuvres,* V, 538.

54. *Op. cit.*, V, 384–420. Excerpts were first printed in Jean-Louis Favier's *Politique de tous les Cabinets de l'Europe* (II, 394–420), published by Ségur in 1793.

55. *Ibid.*, 390.

56. *Ibid.*, 406.

57. *Works,* I, 306.

58. *Op. cit.*, V, 510–19.

59. Du Pont de Nemours, *Turgot,* Paris 1809–11, I, 415. In 1798, at the age of fifty-nine, Du Pont decided to come to America, hoping to found "an agricultural and commercial establishment" in Western Virginia. His request for a passport was, however, refused. "I shall not be guilty of so much affectation of regard to science," President Adams wrote to Secretary of State Pickering, "as to be very willing to grant passports to Du Pont de Nemours or any other French philosophers, in the present situation of our country. We have too many French philosophers already, and I really begin to think or rather to suspect, that learned academies, not under the immediate inspection and control of government, have disorganized the world, and are incompatible with social order." (*Works,* VIII, 596.) It was only a year later that the famous economist, and author of the *Philosophie de l'Univers,* could sail for America. The plan of the colony failed, and within two years he returned to France. In 1815 he came to America again, and here he died in 1817. His sons founded the ammunition factory at Wilmington, Delaware — an institution of truly universal design.

60. General Lincoln's surrender at Charleston on May 12, 1780, greatly depressed him. "What is one to think," he asked Du Pont, "of these Americans who allowed themselves to be captured with 16,000 men, 400 pieces of cannon, good fortifications, and a promontory defended by a dozen bastions which let pass under their guns a fleet with its arms in the holds of the ships? And these people claim the honor of defending liberty!" (*Op. cit.*, V, 627.) The news of the defeat, as it reached Paris, was of course exaggerated. The army which capitulated to Clinton consisted of 2,000 Continentals and 2,000 militia-men.

61. William Morgan, *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Richard Price,* London 1815, 73–74.

Pantaloon as Shylock

By JOHN ROBERT MOORE

1

SOME time ago, in reading Pierre Duchartre's *The Italian Comedy,* I was struck by the fact that the illustrations of Pantaloon resembled Shylock — the Shylock so familiar on the stage as far back as record or tradition can take us. There is no known picture of Burbage in the rôle of Shylock, but students of the drama have a healthy respect for the continuity of stage tradition in such matters. Allowing for the whims of individual actors and minor modifications of his costume, Shylock has been on the English-speaking stage very much as he is presented now for some two hundred years; unless very strong evidence to the contrary can be adduced, it seems probable that he has been carried down in much the same pattern from the time of Shakespeare. And the painting by Porbus in the Bayeux Museum which is dated approximately 1572 shows that (with minor modifications) Pantaloon has been established as a clearly recognizable type for nearly four hundred years.

Looking into the subject a little further, I found that all the accessible illustrations of Pantaloon — from portraits or caricatures of actors and from idealized paintings by Callot or Watteau to photographs of marionettes in museums, whether from France or Germany or Austria or Italy — resembled the accepted figure of Shylock. Some of the pictures were submitted to more than a score of friends, who were asked whether the figure reminded them of any character of Shakespeare's. They all answered "Shylock," and several were astonished to hear that the figure was meant to represent anyone but Shylock.

To learn whether the striking resemblance of appearance and dress and gesture was accompanied by similarity of character, I read rather more widely on the history of Pantaloon, and was confronted with such passages as the following: "This was [Shylock? Pantaloon?] in difficulty with his daughter;

there were also his ducats. The theme of his avarice never palled." The quotation might apply equally well to Shylock or to Pantaloon; but it happens to be from an account of Pantaloon at the end of the 16th century, in Kathleen Lea's *Italian Popular Comedy.*

The question naturally arises: Granting the striking similarity of appearance, dress, and gesture and of character and domestic relationships between one of Shakespeare's greatest characters, as he is presented on the stage, and Pantaloon, who was in the 16th century probably the best known of all the characters in the most widely popular drama of Europe, is it a mere coincidence that the two resemble each other so closely? Or is there the *possibility,* perhaps even the *probability,* of a significant relationship between the two?

Not for a moment should anyone suggest that Shakespeare *based* his Shylock upon Pantaloon. It is obvious that there were other current traditions of avaricious fathers and cruel Jews and bloody-minded usurers to draw upon. But Shakespeare wove his patterns from many threads; the most interesting characters are likely to be those of most diverse origins. Shylock is perhaps as complex a creation as Falstaff. All that interests us here is one brightly colored thread which merits attention in an examination of the pattern. All that I seek to point out is that Shakespeare knew the *commedia dell' arte* exceedingly well, drew upon it when he liked, and assumed that his audience would catch his reference to it; that there are many details or combinations of details (especially those of a comic tendency) in which Shylock is not specifically Jewish at all, and in which he is apparently more like Pantaloon than like anyone in the accepted sources of *The Merchant of Venice;* and that these resemblances would have been apparent to an Elizabethan audience.

In speaking of Pantaloon we are not concerned with any single plot, which Shakespeare or his audience might (or might not) have seen acted out, or which might (or might not) have been presented in just the same way when Shakespeare saw it as when it was acted somewhere else. Pantaloon was a type currently known over most of western Europe near the end of the 16th century, which had such marked characteristics that



Pantaloon — Lyons, 1601 (Perhaps the Actor Pasquati)

the Elizabethan audience knew what was meant when Pantaloon was referred to by either of his common names — Pantaloon or Magnifico, just as they knew what was meant by Zany or Harlequin. It would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to discover all the ways in which Shakespeare and his audience came to know the *commedia dell' arte,* much as it would be difficult to know how it became popular in Japan. The history of the Italian comedy has been in many countries, as M. Duchartre has said of it in France, "not unlike the incident in which Harlequin is driven out by the front door, only to steal in again by the window." The Italian comedy resembles the popular ballad in the ease with which it seems to drop out of sight, only to recur at intervals as a thing of popular knowledge. Sidney referred to "the old song of Percy and Douglas" as a common favorite; a century and a quarter later Defoe took it for granted that his readers would recognize a stray line from *Chevy Chase.* There was Italian comedy in England in 1527, it was widely known in France in the second half of the 16th century, and it is referred to again and again in Elizabethan drama.

More specifically, it underlies several of Shakespeare's plays; and although Miss Lea minimizes the similarities to the *commedia dell' arte* in *The Comedy of Errors* and *The Tempest* as resulting from borrowings at a pre-Shakespearian stage of development, the one obvious fact is that the borrowings are there. In Jaques's speech on the Seven Ages of Man we have not less than three recognizable types from Italian comedy. As Jacob Isaacs has pointed out, the lover

> *Sighing like furnace, with a woeful ballad*
> *Made to his mistress' eyebrow*

and the soldier

> *Full of strange oaths, and bearded like the pard,*
> *Jealous of honour, sudden, and quick in quarrel,*
> *Seeking the bubble reputation*
> *Even in the cannon's mouth*

are like the Inamorato and the Spanish Captain of the *commedia dell' arte.* A third is

> *. . . the lean and slipper'd pantaloon,*
> *With spectacles on nose and pouch on side;*

His youthful hose, well sav'd, a world too wide
For his shrunk shank, and his big manly voice,
Turning again toward childish treble, pipes
And whistles in his sound.

Shakespeare's description of Pantaloon differs somewhat from the usual figure of Italian comedy. Jaques is describing not Pantaloon *as Pantaloon,* but as the typical old man — *any* old man by his own fireside. It is true that Pantaloon occasionally wore spectacles (as in *The Dead Man's Fortune* where "Panteloun" and his man "Pescod" re-enter "wth. spectakles"). But nothing is said by Jaques of Pantaloon's red hat and long robe and large knife and immense hooked nose — characteristic details which Shakespeare would have known perfectly well, but which have nothing whatever to do with his description of one of the Seven Ages of Man. Likewise Gremio, the so-called pantaloon in *The Taming of the Shrew,* is only the old man foolishly in love and lacks most of the special attributes which Pantaloon and Shylock have in common.

2

IT has been suggested that Burbage himself (Shakespeare's Shylock) acted the part of Pantaloon in the play of the 1590's. This would be evidence too good for any research student to hope for; we would have Burbage stepping from one rôle to the other, easily recognized by the audience as he might have appeared (according to the thrifty practice of Elizabethan tiring rooms) in the same costume and make-up for the two parts. According to information which Dr. W. W. Greg has very kindly given me, this is an error growing out of the fact that Burbage acted in *The Dead Man's Fortune,* which Dr. Greg regards as probably an Admiral's play of c. 1590, and in which some other actor took the rôle of Pantaloon. However, the mere fact that Burbage was in *any* London play in which Pantaloon appeared is most interesting. Almost equally interesting is the fact which Dr. Greg points out in his *Elizabethan Dramatic Documents* "that while in some instances 'Panteloun' is treated as a proper name . . . in others it has the article prefixed . . . showing that is was recognized as a stock designation."

Of the details of Pantaloon's character and his associations which are paralleled in Shylock, several are to be found in other sources of avaricious fathers and cruel Jews, though surely not in so extensive a combination. Unlike most other characters in the *commedia dell' arte,* Pantaloon is usually the head of a household, and his domestic relations are always treated satirically. Often he is a widower, and his daughter (or son) robs him to elope with a lover of whom he disapproves. He regards his male servant as a spendthrift and a huge feeder (in one version he discharges his man just before meal-time to avoid feeding him, and in another he computes that his man has wasted more than he has earned); and sometimes the servant's father comes to intercede for his son. His extraordinary avarice, especially in such matters as food, is held up to contempt. Shylock's acceptance of a dinner invitation from Bassanio, and his declaration that he parts with his thriftless servant, "a huge feeder" who sleeps and snores and rends apparel out,

> *To one that I would have him help to waste*
> *His borrowed purse*

would delight Pantaloon's heart as indicating master strokes of his own strategy.

Perhaps these details, singly or in part combined, may be found here and there among the recognized sources of *The Merchant of Venice;* but where except in the *commedia dell' arte* would one look for the following similarities?

1. Pantaloon is always a merchant of Venice — his boastful name of "plant the Lion" was a nickname for a Venetian, after the flag of that city. But Pantaloon is so unlucky that the bystanders ridicule his accumulated reverses. His constant worry over his ships at sea (which gives him the additional nickname of "spit in the water" or "spit in the sea") is transferred in Shakespeare's play to Antonio; but much of his character as an unlucky Venetian merchant would seem to fit Shylock.

2. Pantaloon carries a huge knife by his side, with which he frequently threatens his tormentors. His violent gestures with this knife are so typical that they are sometimes chosen by artists in representing his character.

3. The tradition of an immense nose for Shylock (which

has led some actors to spend hours in erecting a promontory of putty or wax) has less basis in a supposed racial feature than in the tradition of the mask which Pantaloon wore to give his nose the necessary prominence. So too the excessive gestures with his hands (which are obvious in some of the pictures of Pantaloon), and the costume which belongs to him as a Venetian merchant but which appears with little change as the costume of Shylock, Pantaloon is no Jew but a Venetian citizen; it merely happens that his exaggerated appearance and mannerisms would have suited Shakespeare's use in racial caricature.

4. The usual foil to Pantaloon in 16th-century Italian comedy was a doctor of law named Gratiano. In Shakespeare's play Portia masquerades as the doctor of law, but the most bitter speeches of ridicule in the trial scene are still assigned to Gratiano.

5. Even some details of Pantaloon's costume and character which have no place in the rôle of Shylock may be glanced at in *The Merchant of Venice*. The traditional lasciviousness of Pantaloon seems to be hinted in the jest of Salanio:

> *Shylock.* My own flesh and blood to rebel!
> *Salanio.* Out upon it, old carrion! Rebels it at these years?

Pantaloon as the ridiculous lover survives only in a half-comic, half-pathetic cry of the tortured old man,

> It was my turquoise; I had it of Leah when I was a bachelor. I would not have given it for a wilderness of monkeys.

3

LET us test this apparent similarity between Pantaloon and Shylock by comparing Shylock with the prototype to whom he has been most often supposed akin. Shylock, although not a citizen of Venice like Pantaloon, appeals directly to the protection of its laws. Somewhat like the pirates of Gilbertian comedy who hold a young man to his bond so that he will not be free until he is eighty-four years old, Shylock claims the privilege which Antonio's bond gives him of committing a murder of revenge in the open court room under the full sanction

of the law, lest the character and freedom of Venice be impugned. Gilbert's hero is free as soon as the spell is broken. No one fears Shylock until he raises his legal claim, and he is utterly helpless after this advantage is annulled.

Marlowe's Barabas in *The Jew of Malta* is no such pettifogger as this. When he is first arrested for murder, he tries to bluff his way out by demanding, "Let me have law." But everywhere else he despises Malta and its laws. He does have an immense nose, but he suggests rather the superman than the comic type, gigantic alike from the lines he speaks and from the person of Alleyn who first acted the rôle. So far from being a niggard at table, Barabas boasts that "the Governor feeds not as I do" and his invitation of the entire Turkish army to a dinner is not considered incredible. He is usually quiet enough in public; but he strangles, poisons, wages war, and blows up his enemies on a grand scale. His daughter goes into a nunnery at his bidding, his daughter's lover is his easy dupe and victim, his servant becomes his partner in crime, Maltese and Turks alike accept his powerful assistance in war.

How different is all this from what we see in Pantaloon and in Shylock, who rage like Herod in the street, and who threaten terrible things with a knife, but who never strike a single blow! According to the simplest definition of Pantaloon in the dictionary, he is "an absurd old man on whom the clown plays tricks." Forget, for a moment, the tragic overtones of the voice of all the great modern actors as Shylock, and think how accurate a picture this definition gives of *much* of Shylock's part in the play. Launcelot Gobbo abuses him and deserts his service, Jessica lies to him and steals from him, Lorenzo carries off his daughter from his house, Antonio and Bassanio and Gratiano and Salanio and Salerino take turns in ridiculing him and in pouring contempt upon him. His son-in-law and his daughter remember him only to accept his unwilling legacy. The laughing remark of Salanio,

> *. . . all the boys in Venice follow him,*
> *Crying, his stones, his daughter, and his ducats*

could be transferred to Pantaloon's traditional part without any alteration. For Pantaloon, as well as Shylock, might say,

. . . sufferance is the badge of all our tribe.

In the very act of borrowing from Shylock, Antonio repeats his expression of enduring contempt. No one in the play wishes to curry favor with him, except the blind and foolish father of his clownish servant. Even Old Gobbo's kind intention is thwarted by his own son:

Give him a present! Give him a halter.

And Shylock's fellow-religionist, in what is essentially a comic scene, probes him to the quick, so that he cries out,

Thou torturest me, Tubal.

In the trial scene, Tubal is not with him, and Shylock stands alone against an unfriendly world.

The thrill which passes through a modern audience, so long after the reign of Sir Henry Irving, when Shylock opens with the familiar line

Three thousand ducats; well

might be somewhat less easily experienced by an Elizabethan audience. And perhaps the sympathy of the spectators for the father who has lost his daughter and his fortune would have been less poignant for an audience to whom the memory was still fresh of the absurd Pantaloon grieving loudly for the daughter and the ducats he had lost.

Thomas Sergeant Perry and Henry James

By VIRGINIA HARLOW

The author of several important books on English, German, and Greek literature and a critic of exceptional insight, Thomas Sergeant Perry was one of the outstanding benefactors of the Boston Public Library. He was a member of the Examining Committee for a number of years and was active to the end of his life in selecting books to be purchased, leaving a permanent impress upon the collections. "In Memoriam Thomas Sergeant Perry, 1845–1928 — He enriched this Library by his wise counsel and his rare learning during half a century," a bronze tablet on the north wall of the courtyard of the Library is inscribed.

1

ONE of the strongest qualities of Thomas Sergeant Perry's character was his capacity for forming and maintaining friendships with men who shared his social and literary interests. During his early teaching years at Harvard he was one of a group including John Fiske, the historian, Hercules Warren Fay, a clergyman who wrote frequently for the *Nation,* and John R. Dennett, whose early death in 1874 deprived that weekly of one of its brilliant contributors. During the last decades of his life he was in constant touch — either by correspondence or by daily visits — with John T. Morse, Jr., editor of the American Statesmen series of biographies. But certainly the richest and most enduring of his friendships lay in his triumvirate with Henry James and William Dean Howells. Their enthusiasm for contemporary novelists of Europe, particularly for the Russians, their steady pioneering for the cause of realism in America, and the generous affection which they had for one another bound them together with the strongest of ties.

Perry was thirteen in 1858 when the James family came to live in Newport. He at once became attached to the three James brothers — William, Henry, and Garth Wilkinson; but soon it was recognized, as Wilkie was to write from Europe, that Harry "claims you for his own particular & personal prop-

erty, & none of us can write to you without asking his special permission."[1] After a year and a half of joyous friendship, the boys were separated for a time by the sudden departure of the James family for Europe. There was some talk of Perry's accompanying them, and it was a keen grief to both Tom and Harry that this proposal was not carried through. Perry remembered the anniversary of their going for years, and James wrote from Europe soon after his arrival:

> Father found out just now that I am writing to you, which causes him to exclaim again as he often does, "what a pity that good (?) boy Sargy Perry shouldn't be out here enjoying the advantages of these schools." He told me . . . to say how gladly he would take charge of you . . . and would deal with you as faithfully as he would with his own boys. I knew this would interfere with some of your plans, but I can't help enumerating the benefits which arise from it.[2]

During the eleven months of the James family's residence in Europe, the boys carried on a lively correspondence. Harry's letters told much about the studies and the school life in Geneva and in Bonn, something of the early exercises in writing of Harry and William, and something of Harry's longing for Newport and the Newporters. Even before they had set sail from New York, Harry had written: "I can scarcely sit still to write this and feel myself thinking much more of what I leave behind than what I expect to find. Newport and the Newporters are surrounded with a halo in my mind which grows brighter & brighter as two o'clock draws near."[3] Again, in the spring he exclaimed:

> How you do make me wish to get back to America and Newport especially when you talk of the walks we used to take together! Geneva has endless lovely walks, but I think Lily Pond, Cherry Grove, Purgatory, Paradise and Spouting Rock (how I delight to write the names) "take them all down."[4]

In another letter, written from New York just before he was to return by train to Newport, James told of having asked John La Farge about the "state of things at the village," and then the seventeen-year-old let himself go in a mock sentimental vein:

> O! how this heart of mine yearneth toward that same! Well do I remember its rustic lanes and by-ways, its simple unsophis-

> ticated inhabitants, who if they are ignorant of the delicate amenities of civilisation are also untainted by its sordid corruptions. They may have rough, inelegant exteriors but they have kindly hearts.[5]

That his anticipations of the pleasures of Newport were not disappointed is clear from his testimony in the *Notes of a Son and Brother,* where he recalled more than a half-century later: "It comes back to me that nobody in those days walked, nobody but the three or four of us — or indeed I should say, if pushed, the single pair in particular of whom I was one and the other Thomas Sergeant Perry, superexcellent and all-reading, all-engulfing friend of those days and still, sole survivor, of these, I thus found deeply concentrated that love of the long, again and again of the very longest possible, walk which was to see me year after year, through so many of the twists and past so many of the threatened blocks of life's road, and which, during the early and American period, was to make me lone and perverse even in my own sight: so little was it ever given me then, wherever I scanned the view, to descry a fellow-pedestrian."[6] The passion for mature reading afforded a bond between the two boys no less strong than that of their love for long walks, and James described Perry as one who "had let himself loose in the world of books, pressed and roamed through the most various literatures and the most voluminous authors, with a stride that, as it carried him beyond all view, left me dismayed and helpless at the edge of the forest, where I listened wistfully but unemulously to the far-off crash from within of his felled timber, the clearing of whole spaces or periods shelf by shelf or great tree by tree."[7]

Together Perry and James attended the Berkeley Institute, conducted by the Reverend William C. Leverett, who, with his five assistants, offered instruction in "English, Classical, French, German, Spanish, Drawing and Music"[18]; and when they were so minded they went together to the Sunday school of the fashionable Trinity Episcopal Church, where they were taught by Miss Katherine Wormeley, who later became the translator of Balzac. But neither of the boys was greatly swayed by religious emotions, and Perry confessed later in life that he was "brought up among Philistines" who scoffed whenever Emerson's name was mentioned, and that on his return from

a short visit to the Emerson home he "gently giggled over the Sage of Concord with H. J. and W. J."

A few of the entries in Perry's diary for 1861 show how constantly he and the James boys were together:

> Jan. 2. At the library in the morning for some time. Went with Harry James to the 40 Steps. Dined at home. Went after dinner with Jno.[9] & Willie J. to the Point. Back at 5. W. & I went to Cross Pond.
>
> Jan. 3. At home & at the Library in the morning. After dinner to Jno's. Down town then with Harry J. Met Willie & with him to Belmont's. . . .
>
> Jan. 6. H. J. came to church with me in the morning. Boxed with Willie till 1. Dined at home. P. M. with Willie along the Cliffs to Spouting Rock. . . .
>
> Jan. 8. . . . To the Lib. & home with H. J. . . .
>
> Jan. 9. . . . Walked after school to the Big Pond nearly with H. J. . . .
>
> Jan. 10. . . . At H. J.'s & down st. with him. Boxed after dinner with Willie. . . .
>
> Jan. 12. After dinner down st. with Willie James. Harry unwell. In the evening at the Porter's with Willie J. . . .
>
> Jan. 13. At home till 2. Then to the Jameses. Introduced to & to walk with their cousins the Miss Temples. . . . Stayed with Harry till 6½.
>
> Jan. 25. After dinner went to walk with Harry James. Along the cliffs to the Spouting Rock & Lily Pond. Saw a wreck there. After tea to the J's.

The diary for early April reveals an intense excitement over the outbreak of the war. On April 13, Perry wrote, "Down st. met Weston & Schuyler. Waited with them for extra about War. . . . All excited about Sumpter." And on the 17th, "To Armory with Willie J. and to see the militia off." It was in August of this year that he went with Harry James to Portsmouth Grove, where James had his "first and all but sole vision of the American soldier in his multitude, and above all . . . in his depression, his wasted melancholy almost; an effect that somehow corresponds for memory, . . . with the tender elegiac tone in which Walt Whitman was later on so admirably to commemorate him."[10]

In July 1861, Harry James and Perry, with two other boys, made a trip to the White Mountains, leaving home on the fifteenth for the purpose of climbing Mount Washington, and re-

turning penniless a week later. An amusing example of the nonsense in which these boys indulged is a letter in which William gave Perry instructions about finding his way to Cambridge, where the James family had moved. After some ridiculous remarks about Perry's feminine handwriting, he went on:

> And at the Deepo you will either find me or you will not find me. If you do find me, I shall probably find some means of communicating to you the order of the day, so I need not do so now. Ef yer dont, either take a hack (legal fare 35 cts.) to the Cambridge cars or else walk, candidly inquiring the way as you go (Don't ask a lady, though, they flee howling here when they are spoken to, its a way they have with them) to the TREMONT (tres montes, three hills) HOUSE. The C. Cars are close along side. Now my young friend, keep your eyes open, you are young & inexperienced and the whirl of the great city may stun you — so MARK MY WORDS now! There are TWO KINDS of Cambridge Cars. Before you get into one, MAKE SURE it goes to *Harvard Square.* If you dont, *wait for the next.* Pay your fare without haggling. . . . I think you will enjoy your visit and profit by it. The effect Boston has on the rural mind is generally puffeckly indiscrib'b'bl. And I expect wonders in your case. . . .[11]

In the summer of 1862 Perry was admitted, on the recommendation of William C. Leverett, to the freshman class of Harvard College. During the winter holiday he saw much of the two older James brothers. The temperaments of these are aptly described in a letter written by Wilkie to Perry on May 28, 1860:

> Willy and Harry have been getting along very well indeed this last winter. Harry has become an author I believe, for he keeps his door locked all day long, & a little while ago, I got a peep in his room, and saw some poetical looking manuscripts lying on the table, & himself looking in a most authorlike way.
>
> Willie often comes flying in the parlour, in the evening & breaks the family circle, with a poem that he has previously prepared to read. The last one he wrote was an "Ode to Alice" which he recited in a very flowing manner accompanied by various ornamentations with the legs & arms; the only difference there is between Willy and Harrys labours is that the former always shows his production while the modest little Henry wouldn't let a soul or even a spirit see his.

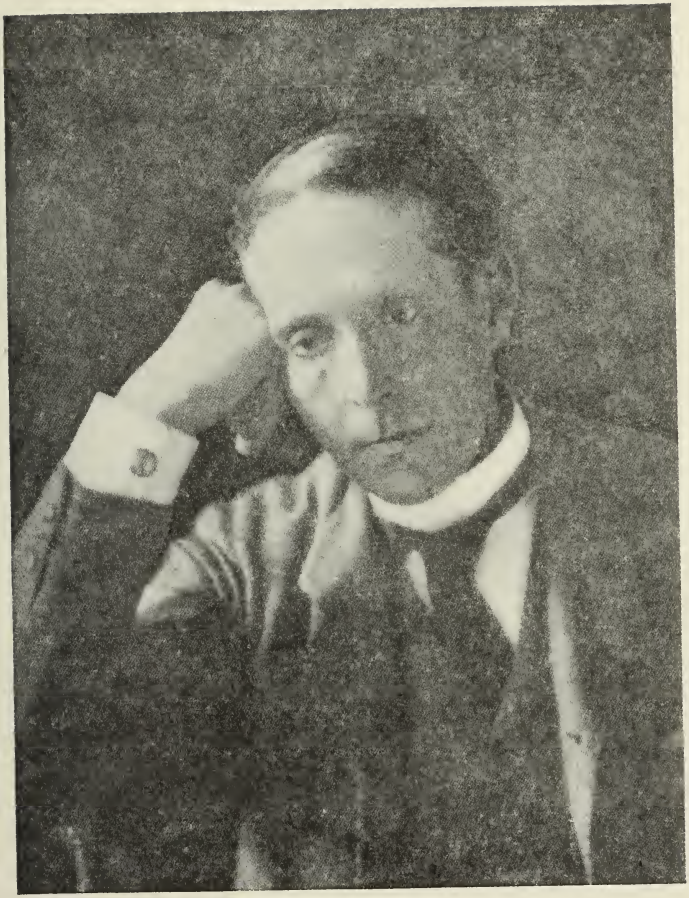
Perry's own description of the goings-on in the Jameses' Cambridge home, though highly exaggerated, gives a further idea of their individuality. He wrote to John La Farge:

> For relaxation I go to the James's, the parents are away, and those unhappy children fight like cats & dogs. The other evening I went there, & stayed for about an hour & a half, during 3/3 of wh. time Willie was trying to obtain solitude in the library, with the rest of the family pounding at the door, & rushing in all the time. He so far forgot himself at one time as to try to put & lock me out of the house. It was a terrible sight, & I can assure you I pitied poor Harry, & asked him to come & stay with me.[12]

At Harvard Perry followed a broad elective system of his own in reading, ranging over the fields of philosophy and history and into the classics and the contemporary European writers. Without a doubt he shared his enthusiasms, and argued his opinions, with Henry James. One evening in 1863 they went to see Matilda Heron in *Camille,* but left the theater "before the piece was half through, it was so exceedingly stupid"; and they engaged in a lengthy discussion on the subject of prejudice, suggested by their reading of Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding.*

2

AFTER his graduation from Harvard in 1866, Perry spent two years in Europe traveling and studying, and upon his return received an appointment as tutor in Harvard College. While in Venice, he had hoped to meet William Dean Howells, whose *Sketches of Venetian Life* he had read in the Boston *Advertiser,* but he learned that Howells had resigned his consular office and had returned to America. Accordingly, one of the first things he did after settling in Cambridge was to get James to take him to call on Howells, and the three men thereupon formed their literary alliance for the furthering of realism and the study of foreign literatures in America. Early in 1870 Perry and his friends organized a dinner and conversation group, which through the nearly sixty years of its existence was known merely as The Club. It started with fourteen members, including Howells and both William and Henry James. The members felt a peculiar affection for their informal gatherings. "The dinners of the club," the philosopher's son was to write, "were occasions apart from all others; for James could go to them at



Yours very,
T. S. Perry.

the last moment, without any sense of responsibility and knowing that he would find congenial company and old friends. So he continued to go to these dinners, even after he had stopped accepting all invitations to dine."[13]

One of the subjects most in the minds of Howells, James, and Perry during the early seventies was the work of the new French and Russian realists, particularly Turgenev. A recent study, *Turgenev in England and America,* by Royal Gettmann (published by the University of Illinois in 1941) points out that although the English were slightly earlier than the Americans in their recognition of the Russian novelist, their criticisms were largely concerned with his works as representative of conditions in Russia rather than as productions of literary art. Seven of the fifteen articles on Turgenev listed by Mr. Gettmann as appearing in America between 1871 and 1877 were by Perry, and of the others, six were by Howells or by James. Perry's first published comment on Turgenev appeared in a review of Alexis Pisemski's *Tausend Seelen* in *The Atlantic Monthly* for February 1871. Soon after this James took up his residence in Europe and by 1876 he had become an admiring friend of the great Russian writer. On February 3 he wrote to Perry:

> J'ai passé deux grosses heures chez lui, à l'entendre discourir l'original de Bazarof, sur les procédés de conception & de travail, sur Flaubert, Dickens, &c., &c. C'est un causeur admirable — très tranquille et très simple, mais trouvant toujours, comme disait l'autre jour Flaubert, l'expression à la fois étrange et juste.

Perry had translated Turgenev's "Mou-Mou" for the April 1871 issue of *Lippincott's* and his "A Correspondence" and "Faust" for the October 1871 and the May and June 1872 issues of *Galaxy,* and had serialized a translation of *Dimitri Roudine* in *Every Saturday* early in 1873. It is not surprising that James sent him a copy of the French translation of *Virgin Soil* as soon as it came out in Paris. He informed Perry on February 28, 1877:

> I wrote a few days since to John Tourgueneff to ask him to send me a new tale of his wh. I saw had just appeared in French (not having been printed in Russian) meaning to send it to you, on the supposition that you might like to translate it. It has just come & turns out to be a very slight affair; nevertheless I forward it, as anything with his name has a value. Perhaps, as it is

> very short & very new, even Howells would print a translation of it. I should be glad if he would, for Tourgueneff' [*sic*] sake.

A few weeks later, on April 18, James again deprecated the quality of the work:

> The book will disappoint you, as it did me; it has fine things, but I think it the weakest of his long stories (quite,) & it has been such a failure in Russia, I hear, that it has not been reprinted from the Review in wh. it appeared. Poor T. is much cut down. He wrote me the other day: "La fortune n'aime pas les vieillards" & the miserable prospect of war (which is all that is thought & talked of here) won't cheer him up.

During his editorship of *The Atlantic Monthly,* Howells made Perry responsible for reviews of French and German books, and in February 1877, just a month after the furious storm broke in Paris over the publication of Zola's *L'Assommoir,* James wrote advising Perry that the book was worth reading if his stomach could stand it. In June Perry's review of the novel appeared in the *Atlantic* — the combination of James as adviser, Perry as critic, and Howells as editor being responsible for an early American appraisal of the sensational French novelist. James continued to write about Zola, and on November 2, 1879, he remarked from Paris:

> The theatres are amusing, & the dinners more than sufficient, but the literature is pitifully thin. Il n'y a que Zola! I admire him more than you, & mean to write an article for John Morley about him. I have sent you some Zola feuilletons, which have an interest. . . . Zola's naturalism is ugly & dirty, but he seems to me to be *doing something* — which surely (in the imaginative line) no one in England or the U. S. is, & no one else here.

Again on February 16, 1881, when Perry had written a critical essay on Zola for the current issue of the *International Review,* James was arguing in Zola's defense:

> I have just bought two books — Merimée's *Letters to Panizzi* & Zola's *Naturalisme au Théatre,* which I lay down unopened, until I have answered your letter. You will probably think that at least as regards Zola this is no great sacrifice to friendship. I don't think you did him justice in the *International,* which the proprietors amiably send me every month. Zola has his faults & his merits; & it doesn't seem to me important to talk of the faults. The merits are rare, valuable, extremely solid. However,

I don't care much. . . . I suspect the age of letters is waning, for our time. It is the age of Panama Canals, of Sarah Bernhardt, of Western wheat-raising, of merely material expansion. Art, form, may return, but I doubt that I shall live to see them — I don't believe they are eternal, as the poets say. All the same, I shall try to make them live a little longer!

3

THE concern which the two men had for each other's literary success is reflected again and again in Henry James's letters. When Perry lost his editorship of *The North American Review* in 1874 and badly needed an opportunity for making himself known, James opened the way for him to contribute a series of news letters to the London *Academy*. Between August 1874 and March 1876 thirteen of these were published. The difficulty which terminated the series can only be conjectured from a letter of February 3, 1876, in which James explained: "I am very sorry you have had any trouble with the *Academy,* or about it — especially on my account. Don't fear that I have been perplexed or annoyed by anything." Perry's literary histories, produced in the 1880's, met with encouraging remarks from James. Of his *English Literature in the Eighteenth Century,* published in 1883, James wrote: "I have been finishing your book, with due deliberation & attention, and when the thermometer falls a little will write you a letter about it. It is very delightful reading & stuffed full of matter — I envy you much all you have read." On Perry's second book, *From Opitz to Lessing,* printed in 1885, he made the discriminating comment: "Let me congratulate you on a sound & solid piece of literary work — which I don't find the least dull, but full of interest and the historic sense. Many people won't like it, because it is serious & not à la Justin Macarthy — but you will find your recognition in the esteem of a few." At a time when Perry considered the possibility of having a volume of critical essays published, James wrote him from Paris: "I hope very much Macmillan may take up your vol. of essays — if you had let me know, I should have been very glad to say good words for you to him, as I am tolerably 'in' with them."

Perry, on the other hand, reinforced James's confidence in his own work both by published reviews and personal comment. In 1877 he had the opportunity to review *The American* for the *Nation,* and expressed his admiration for the rare skill with which the novelist managed the various threads of the story, and above all for the "delicacy with which Madame de Cintré is drawn, with her shyness and gracious delicacy," the whole thing being done with that "apparent simplicity which is the height of art."[14] The review was considerably abridged by the editor, and on July 8 James soothed Perry's disappointment, saying of the general character of the *Nation*:

> I am very sorry they curtailed the article but it was very graceful & sufficient as it was & gave me as much pleasure as your perturbation of mind gives me pain. On its literary side the *N.* is not ill-disposedly, but simply helplessly & un-cleverly managed. Rather it isn't managed at all, & they never dreamed that it would have been prettier to me (a ten years' servant of the paper) to have in *all* your criticism. Be reassured as to *my* own regrets. I should much have liked to see what else you said; but I am very sorry that the suppression of it should make you any *mauvais sang.*

The humiliation which James suffered over his *Hawthorne* was somewhat mitigated by Perry's intelligent approval of the work. Before the book was published, the novelist wrote with some premonition:

> Yes, I have just about finished a little book for Morley on *Hawthorne;* a difficult task, from the want of material & (as I think) slenderness of the subject. G. P. Lathrop will *hate* it, and me for writing it; though I couldn't have done so without the aid (for dates & facts) of his own singularly foolish pretentious little volume. The amount of a certain sort of emasculate twaddle produced in the U. S. is not encouraging.[15]

On January 17 of the following year, he thanked Perry for his "friendly words about the ill-fated Hawthorne, which stand out with a bright & peculiar radiance from all the dusky drivel the book has called forth." "Je vous demande un peu — what a public to write for! what an inspiration in addressing them!" he went on. "But let us hope they are not the real American public. If I thought they were, I would give up the country." The unfavorable criticism which was heaped on the book dur-

ing the next two years only increased James's contempt for its writers, for on February 22, 1883, he exploded:

> The hubbub produced by my poor little *Hawthorne* is most ridiculous; my father has sent me a great many notices, each one more abusive & more abject than the others. The vulgarity, ignorance, rabid vanity & general idiocy of them all is truly incredible. But I hold it a great piece of good fortune to have stirred up such a clatter. The whole episode projects a lurid light upon the state of American "culture," & furnishes me with a hundred wonderful examples, where, before, I had only more or less vague impressions.

Again, after "The Art of Fiction" had appeared in *Longman's Magazine,* James looked upon Perry as one of his few appreciative readers:

> I thank you for all its [your note's] appreciation & its friendly feeling, which makes me feel that I didn't write my few remarks in *Longman* in vain. But it is the only thing that does make me feel so, — for my poor article has not attracted the smallest attention here & I haven't heard, or seen, an allusion to it. There is almost no care for literary discussion here, — questions of form, of principle, the "serious" idea of the novel appeals apparently to no one, & they don't understand when you speak of them.[16]

James not only looked to Perry for reassurance about his published works, but from time to time he talked over with him his hopes and fears for various new projects. On December 15, 1877, he wrote from Paris:

> It is very pleasant of you to like my little English sketches & you are right in supposing that in England I have at last found a land comfortable in many ways to my soul. After I have written four or five more such little papers (if I find stuff for the same) I shall make a book of them. It will be a book on the whole very complimentary and urbane: but it will have many *sous-entendus* & much reserve.

He feared that *The Europeans* might "prove a disappointment from its brevity — it was a cruel wrong its being announced or spoken of as a 'novel.' " But although it was "distinctly slight," he hoped it would "be thought neat." In 1879 he wrote again of his contentment in London, and spoke with some misgiving about a new novel, perhaps *Confidence*:

> I have none [news] in particular to give you — save that I

scratch along on this crowded highway of London life & shall probably do so for an indefinite period. I have got a good deal of fame & hope some day to get a little money. I have had, I think, more success with the dull British public in a few months than with that of my native land in all these long years that I have been scribbling to it. This fact of course helps me to be comfortable & contented here. I am just finishing another little novel which is to appear (alas!) in the dreadful *Scribner's,* but which I strongly urge you not to read until it is republished.

Early in 1880, when Perry had evidently proposed to write a review of James's "literary career," his friend replied: "Seriously . . . I would rather you should wait a few months, till my *big* novel (to be published this year) comes out. It is from that I myself shall pretend to date — on that I shall take my stand." In July he mentioned the same work — undoubtedly it was *The Portrait of a Lady* — with some enthusiasm: "I am working at a long novel, which is shortly to begin in the Atlantic & Macmillan, & is (I hope) to be my hitherto longest & best performance." A letter written on March 6, 1884, indicates not only a constant zeal for doing better work, but a natural desire to earn some money from his labors:

I am engaged to write (that is, to publish) two "serials" next year — one of six months, the other of a year's duration. So I have work cut out, & so have you, if you read me. These are to be the best things I have done, & the former a remorseless exploitation of Boston. Look out, in Marlborough St.: I am especially hard on the far end. Lately I have been doing some short things which you will see in due time — in the Century, & eke three or four in (horresco referens!) the New York Sunday *Sun!* This last item by the way, is for the present, till things appear, a profound secret. That journal has bribed me with gold — it is a case of gold pure & simple; & moreover the reasons against my exposing myself in it do not seem to me serious.

He was probably referring again to *The Bostonians* when he wrote on January 24, 1886:

Thank you much for "chuckling" over my long story — which, when it is finished, will be the best thing I have done, in spite of an impudent lack of incident — or of what is commonly understood to be such. In spite of this, I believe the interest goes *crescendo* to the end. My aim is to hold it to the last page; & the story contains the best writing of which I have hitherto been capable. But I mean to surpass it, de beaucoup. I mean also to

"quit" for awhile paying so much attention to the young unmarried American female — to stop, that is making her the central figure; which is of necessity a limitation.

4

THE devotion which James and Perry felt for each other is the more remarkable considering that after 1875, when James was thirty-two and Perry was thirty, they were separated by the ocean, except for brief periods when James returned to this country in 1882, 1904, and 1910 and when Perry visited Europe in 1887-1889, 1891, 1894-1897, and 1905-1909. Although it is highly probable that Perry saw something of James on each of his European trips, we have a record of such a meeting only on the last occasion. Three times during his stay the two men were together, twice in Paris and once when Perry went to England for a week's stay with the novelist at Rye. This last, in 1906, was a quiet visit, in which both must have found great satisfaction. Apparently the only forms of occupation which they cared for then were reading, walking, and chatting together. One entry in Perry's diary is much like another. For November 20 he recorded: "Up at 8.15. In a.m. read & stroll. After Luncheon at 3 Harry & I walk inland. Back at 5 & read. In even'g talk, bed by 12." At one point James told his friend that he had begun dictating his work (Perry believed "from some laming in H. J.'s right hand") in the eighteenth chapter of *What Maisie Knew,* with the words "In the middle of the small, bright room."[17]

James was in Paris in April 1907. Perry noted in his diary having called for nine consecutive days at the Hôtel d'Orsay, each time to find that James had not yet arrived. Finally, after he did come, they were together frequently over a period of two or three weeks, dining, talking, and listening to music. James's visit in May 1908 provided an occasion for Perry and Howells to dine with him. The reunion had been anticipated for months, for James wrote to Howells in March, "Tom Perry writes me every week from Paris as to whether Sister Anne sees nothing coming. He will lay all carpets for you there."[18] The pleasure of the meeting was somewhat tempered by the

fact that James was the guest of Mrs. Edith Wharton, who, Perry said, kept him "in her clutch, very unwillingly relaxing her hold"; and "to see her flinging her attention away on another man," Perry felt was "a most unfascinating spectacle."[19]

James's late autobiographical works, *A Small Boy and Others* and *The Middle Years,* were discussed by Perry in the *Yale Review,* for October 1913, and the novelist was warm in his expressions of gratitude.

> I thank you most kindly for your good expression about *my* rum boyhood's chronicle; it came as it could & would & had to; & has been received here with a benevolence & sympathy that has surprised me. (I felt it could be only *Americanly* understood; but it doesn't chez nous, seem to have been Americanly understood in the least, or anything but very Americanly & illiterately & childishly derided & abused. The mere *manners* of that "press" to an old & venerable literary party, of great dignity of record, who has grown grey & bald & fat, and unrewarded, in — so to speak — its service!) What I am sure you will care to hear is that I have almost finished the complementary Vol. of my babble, which covers ground of the last familiarity to yourself, & in which you & many of our common familiarities are far from unnamed. My hope is that you will fairly lose yourself in it. I work slowly & with difficulty, but to have got to work even to *such* tunes, after my long frustrations, is of the nature of a triumph to me.[20]

Although Perry did not review *Notes of a Son and Brother,* he evidently told James of his enjoyment of the work, and James's response gives ample proof of the permanence of their affection:

> Liking as I did to think, while the book went on, that you would be its intelligent reader of all readers, the pleasure of finding that presumption confirmed for me has been very great. I felt again & again that you would be the only person alive who would understand what I meant *there,* & that though others might think they did it wouldn't be so true of any of them as of you. Yet in spite of this the volume has, like its predecessor, or even more, enjoyed an acclamation of welcome *here,* an unanimity of really intelligent appreciation, by what comes home to me, which I can't speak of emphatically without seeming to vaunt & flaunt my wares after a fashion incompatible with true refinement. I never "see many Notices," but the general sense of the Press . . . is blown in upon me by wandering airs, & appears to be really a very handsome exhibition of competent appreciation.[21]

In 1921, when Van Wyck Brooks proposed to write a book about James, Perry offered his services "for purposes of excavation,"[22] and during the next four or five years he wrote long and frequent letters attempting to guide Brooks's conclusions. Chiefly he emphasized the fact that James chose to live abroad, not because of snobbishness in his character, but because he was "infinitely more at home" in England than in America, where intelligence and refinement were notably lacking. Regarding James's naturalization, Perry told of an unpublished letter in which James explained that for him to remain in England as an American citizen during the war years meant "just unrelieved anguish and . . . unrelieved ignominy," and that "the comfort of having rectified that false position" was, he found, "unutterable."[23] On June 20, 1923, Perry gave an impressive delineation of the essentially lovable character of his friend:

> I knew him well and I never saw in him a vile feeling, or anything explained away or apologized for. He was no blind idolater and distinguished between people, but was never unkind or nasty. He saw everybody passing him in popularity but he never knew a touch of envy . . . or of malice. He was above all things a gentleman, and not a negative possessor of amiable qualities, but full of active kindness. I know of many instances of his generosity to lame ducks, not the swift charity which is so gratifying to the benefactor, but long continued acts of kindness that gave him personal inconvenience. I never heard of these things from him, not a word. He was staunch and true, his affection once given was never shaken. . . .
>
> It was a lonely life he led, with his aims so hidden from almost everyone, and with the apparition of so much neglect.

Although it does not appear that Perry succeeded in convincing Brooks of the warmth of James's nature, Brooks's study contains at least one bit of information which Perry supplied; namely, the fact that James's ashes were brought at his own request to this country to be laid in the Cambridge cemetery.[24]

One of the last literary tasks which Perry performed was appropriately enough the short but valuable sketch of Henry James's early years written for Percy Lubbock's two-volume edition of the novelist's letters, published in 1920. Lubbock's acknowledgments of Perry's numerous communications to him give a hint of the eagerness with which Perry seized this oppor-

tunity to contribute to the just fame of his friend. The notes which he sent gave "a most vivid little glimpse," Lubbock remarked, "of a time which was otherwise blank . . . & help one to see H. J. with his family."[25]

5

WITH no thought of tracing influences from one to the other, it is nevertheless possible to discover similarities in the critical attitudes of these two men. Perry, it is true, wrote most of his reviews in the seventies, and the parallels with James's statements can most readily be discovered in the latter's "Art of Fiction," published in 1884. This does not mean that Perry directed James's thought, but rather that in their program for realism they were thinking together.

The first step in this program was to discredit the extravagances of the popular romanticism, exemplified perhaps in Victor Hugo. Of his *Quatrevingt-treize,* James wrote, "The leading idea seems to us to be that the horrible . . . is a delightful subject for the embroidery of fiction. After this there is no denying that M. Hugo is really fond of horrors."[26] Perry warned that melodrama "may be admired, but care should be taken to distinguish the admiration from that which we give to the more serious work which has some other aim than making us hold our breath for a moment, as we do at a circus when the rope-climber pretends to fall."[27] The second step in establishing the new realism was to do away with the notion that the morality of fiction lay in the selection of subjects that would teach a sound lesson as well as in the rejection of the disagreeable.

This false claim James met with the assertion that the "only reason for the existence of a novel is that it does attempt to represent life," and that "questions of art are questions (in the widest sense) of execution." Questions of morality, he insisted, were quite another affair, and "there is no impression of life, no manner of seeing it and feeling it, to which the plan of the novelist may not offer a place. . . ."[28] In his essay on Turgenev, Perry declared that the last of the current "errors to perish will be the necessity of conveying moral instruction; that is to say, of misrepresenting the truth for an amiable object." "As a fact,"

he continued, "virtue is not always rewarded in life, nor crime always punished; and we should detest the virtue that existed only for the sake of reward. . . . Tourguéneff lets the morality look out for itself, not teaching an artificial lesson which could not live outside of a Sunday-school; but as true and impressive as is our own life in comparison with the 'Fool's Paradise' of the neo-romantic poets."[29]

In writing of Aristophanes in his *History of Greek Literature,* Perry felt with James that no subject needed to be excluded from literature, and that the canons of good taste exercised a debilitating influence on comedy, since they had been established by literary legislators "as if what is called good taste were anything but the raw edge, the vanishing line, of our sympathies, and only what lies inside this limit has been adjudged to be the proper domain of literature." "It may in time be seen," he concluded, "that the only test to be applied is that of the truth of the delineation, and that arbitrary exclusion is as impossible for literature as it is for thought."[30] Perry's dictum that "the novelist's real aim [is] the reader's entertainment, with instruction of only the vaguest sort"[31] finds its corollary in James's view that "the only obligation to which in advance we may hold a novel . . . is that it be interesting."[32] The two men agreed also on the importance of the artist's skill in the construction and the style of the novel. With Gautier, Perry found that execution was everything; "but nowadays," he added regretfully, ". . . the execution is of less moment, and the main thing is the matter that has to be expressed."[33]

Perry and James present one of the fine examples of friendship between literary men. In their life-long interests and aspirations they found a bond such as James suggested in a letter written on August 10, 1883, just before he left for England:

> If I sail without seeing you, Masolino, at least I leave you the assurance of my most affectionate interest, & feel sure that we shall commune — in that pure intellectual realm which is more unobstructed than the personal — across the wide waters of time, as well as of space. I shall write the most gorgeous books, & send them to you; & you will pursue your noble studies & enrich me with the fruits. . . . Resist as much as possible the hard friction of existence & take refuge in the life of intelligence!

Notes

1. From Garth Wilkinson James, May 28, 1860. Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations from the James and Perry letters are taken from manuscripts or from faithful copies in the possession of Miss Margaret Perry, daughter of Thomas Sergeant Perry, of Hancock, New Hampshire.
2. From Henry James, November 18, 1859.
3. From Henry James, October 8, [1859].
4. From Henry James, March 27, [1860].
5. From Henry James [September 26, 1860].
6. Henry James, *Notes of a Son and Brother,* New York 1914, pp. 101–02.
7. *Ibid.,* pp. 127–28.
8. Newport *Mercury,* May 24, 1862.
9. "Jno." refers to the painter John La Farge, who was then in Newport studying with William Hunt, and who in 1860 had married Perry's sister Margaret. Ten years Perry's senior, La Farge served as mentor in literature and the arts to his brother-in-law and to Henry James.
10. Henry James, *op. cit.,* pp. 310–11. Perry's copy of the book contains the marginal note, "I was with him."
11. From William James [December, 1861].
12. "Feast of Septuagesima, 1863."
13. *Letters of William James,* edited by his son Henry James, Boston 1926, II, pp. 9–10.
14. *Nation,* May 31, 1877, p. 326.
15. September 14, 1879.
16. September 26, 1884.
17. To Van Wyck Brooks, June 26, 1923. All the quotations from letters to Mr. Brooks are taken from copies of manuscripts in his possession.
18. Henry James to W. D. Howells, March 10, 1908. MS. in Harvard College Library.
19. To John T. Morse, Jr., May 2, 1908.
20. August 13, 1913.
21. April 13, 1914.
22. To Van Wyck Brooks, July 12, 1921.
23. From Henry James to Lilla Cabot Perry, September 7, 1915. In John T. Morse, Jr. *Thomas Sergeant Perry,* New York 1929, pp. 52–53.
24. To Van Wyck Brooks, February 7, 1923. See also Brooks, *The Pilgrimage of Henry James,* New York 1925, p. 104.
25. From Percy Lubbock, July 12, 1918.
26. *Nation,* April 9, 1874, p. 239.
27. *Atlantic Monthly,* May 1874, p. 628.
28. Henry James, "The Art of Fiction." In *Partial Portraits,* London 1905, pp. 375–408.
29. *Independent,* October 4, 1883, p. 4.
30. *A History of Greek Literature,* New York 1890, pp. 503, 505.
31. *Atlantic Monthly,* October 1876, p. 450.
32. Henry James, *op. cit.*
33. *Atlantic Monthly,* March 1880, p. 394.

The Correspondence of R. W. Griswold

THE *Boston Public Library Quarterly* resumes publication of the catalogue of the Library's Griswold Collection. Six installments, covering over one-third of the items, were prepared by Miss Honor McCusker and published in the monthly bulletin More Books for March, April, May, and June 1941, and February and September 1943.

The collection, over twelve hundred autograph letters and documents, comprises most of the correspondence of Rufus Wilmot Griswold — critic, poet, anthologist, and editor of *Graham's Magazine* from 1842 to 1843. It includes letters by Longfellow, Whittier, Prescott, Thoreau, Julia Ward Howe, Horace Greeley, Charles Godfrey Leland, and other prominent literary figures of the 1840's and 50's. Also in the collection — and classed with the Library's most valuable holdings — are nineteen autograph letters by Edgar Allan Poe, and numerous letters written to him, which came into Griswold's possession when he became Poe's literary executor. There are in addition many letters from poetasters and would-be *littérateurs* of the period, who sought Griswold's editorial favors or a place in his popular anthologies, *The Poets and Poetry of America* (1842), *The Prose Writers of America* (1847), *Female Poets of America* (1848), and others. These compilations, along with his original work *The Republican Court* (1854) — a study of society in the days of Washington — and the dubious memoir of Poe (first published in the New York *Tribune,* and later expanded and republished in his 1850 edition of the poet's works), are Griswold's best-known publications. He died in New York in 1857, at the age of forty-two, worn out by recurrent attacks of consumption and by the private, legal, and literary difficulties in which he had been constantly embroiled.

No attempt has been made in this catalogue to provide a complete list of subject headings; however, cross-references have been inserted for extensive allusions to important names. Sources for letters which have been published are noted as such at the end of the calendar. Two titles appear so often that they have been abbreviated. One is *Passages from the Correspondence*

and Other Papers of Rufus W. Griswold, published by W. M. Griswold at Cambridge in 1898 and cited as *"Gris. Corr."* The other is *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe,* edited by James A. Harrison and known as the "Virginia Edition," cited here as "Poe, *Works,* 1902." In the case of the *Passages,* it should be remembered that the transcriptions are sometimes inaccurate and frequently only fragmentary; hence a reference to this volume does not necessarily mean that the letter will be found there complete.

Since the appearance of the first portions of this catalogue, a book-length biography — *Rufus Wilmot Griswold, Poe's Literary Executor,* by Joy Bayless — has been published by the Vanderbilt University Press (Nashville 1943), and has proved very useful in the preparation of these installments. A new edition of Poe's letters, prepared by John Ward Ostrom and published by the Harvard University Press in 1948, has also been helpful.

HUDSON, Henry Norman, *1814–1886.* See Whipple, Edwin Percy.

Huntington, William Henry, *1820–1885.* A.L.S. To——. 2 pp. 7 x 4 in. Mar. 10, n.y.

[Norwich.] Is sending some information about [Donald Grant] Mitchell.

— Autograph ms., unsigned. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. N.d.

[N.p.] Biographical data on Donald Grant Mitchell.
Gris. Corr., pp. 272–4.

Huston, A. F. Ms. poem, signed. 8 pp. 10 x 8 in. N.d.

"The Leap of the Wave."

— Ms. poem. 3 pp. (2 mounts.) 8 x 6 in. N.d.

"Little Children."

IDE, Abijah M., Jr., *c. 1825–1873.* A.L.S. To Edgar Allan Poe. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. Oct. 1, 1843.

[South Attleborough, Mass.] Gives extracts from the writer's poems. Asks for Poe's friendship.
Poe, *Works,* 1902, XVII, pp. 153–5.

— A.L. To Edgar Allan Poe. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Nov. 2, 1943. Signature cut out.

[South Attleborough, Mass.] Discusses the state of American literature; offers to help in the "overthrow of Humbug." Mentions his poverty.
Poe, *Works,* 1902, XVII, pp. 156–7.

— A.L.S. To Edgar Allan Poe. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Mar. 23, [1844].

[South Attleborough, Mass.] Asks Poe to recommend reading, and asks advice about how and where to publish his poems.

Poe, *Works*, 1902, XVII, pp. 162–4.

— A.L. To Edgar Allan Poe. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Feb. 16, 1845. Signature cut out.

[South Attleborough, Mass.] Thanks Poe for a criticism of the writer's poem "Bunker's Hill." Mentions the *Broadway Journal.* Praises Poe's "Haunted Palace."

— A.L.S. To Edgar Allan Poe. 1 p. 8 x 6 in. June 1, 1845.

[South Attleborough, Mass.] Encloses a poem for the *Broadway Journal.* Asks Poe's opinion of [James Henry] Leigh Hunt's anthology *Imagination and Fancy.*

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. June 20, 1845.

[South Attleborough, Mass.] Describes the writer's life and writing. Sends a poem. Asks Griswold's advice about what to read, and how to publish his work.

— A.L.S. To Edgar Allan Poe. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Feb. 26, 1846.

[South Attleborough, Mass.] Inquires about some numbers of the *Broadway Journal,* ordered but not received.

The *Broadway Journal* ceased publication with the Jan. 3, 1846 number.

— See also Dillingham, F. A.

Ingraham, Edward D[uffield], *1793–1854,* letter to. See Dixon, [William] Hepworth.

Ingraham, Joseph Holt, *1809–1860.* A.L.S. To George Rex Graham. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. July 25, 1841.

[New York.] Inquires about three tales he has sent.

— A.L.S. To ——. 4 pp. 8 x 7 in. Apr. 3, 1855.

[Mobile.] Explains the writer's disagreement with Mr. Milwood. Mentions a review of one of his books [title indecipherable] in the *Ch[urchman's?] Monthly.*

— A.L.S. To Dr. Herman Hooker. 1 p. 8 x 7 in. Apr. 13, 1855.

[Mobile.] Has sent payment of balance due. Asks Hooker to publish his "Adina" [*The Prince of the House of David,* published by Pudney and Russell, New York 1855.]

— See also Thomas, Frederick William.

Ingram, Cooke and Co. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 8 x 5 in. Apr. 15, 1853. Written by G. Ward.

[London.] Assures Griswold of the firm's continued interest in publishing his volume of American poetry. Expresses regret for his legal entanglements.

Irving, H. I. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 7 x 5 in. Oct. 27, 1851.

[London.] Sends a copy of the new *American Magazine.*

The American Magazine, edited by H. H. Paul, was published in London from October 1851 to February 1852.

Irving, Washington, *1783–1859*. See Leland, Charles Godfrey; Scott, Sir Walter.

Izard, Alice (DeLancey), *d. 1832*. See Cooper, James Fenimore.

Izard, Mrs. Ralph. See Izard, Alice (DeLancey).

J., D. H. Ms. poem. 2 pp. 12 x 8 in. Nov., 1851.

[New York.] "Stanzas." ("In sad procession pass my days, . . .")

Jacobs, Sarah Sprague, *b. 1813*. Mss. poems. 19 pp. (10 mounts.) 9 x 7 in. N.d.

"I mourn that this world changes not . . . ," "Ubi Amor, ibi Fides," "A Lamentation," "A Vesper," "Listen, what sounds are these . . . ," "Girl-Dreams," "A fountain in a crowded street . . . ," "Benedetta" (printed clipping: "From the Cambridge Chronicle").

The first of the above, under the title "The Changeless World," was published in *Female Poets of America*, as were "Ubi Amor, ibi Fides," "A Vesper," and "Benedetta."

Janeway, Jacob Jones, *1774–1858*. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Dec. 7, 1854.

[New Brunswick.] Corrects a mistake concerning the writer's family in Griswold's *Republican Court*.

[Janvier, Francis de Haes, *1817–1885*]. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. June 5, 1849. Signed with initials.

[U.S.S. Mississippi, Norfolk, Va.] Thanks Griswold for his attention to the writer's poem, to be published in the *Union Magazine*.

— See also Hoffman, Charles Fenno.

Jay, John, *1817–1894*. A.L.S. To. R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 11 x 9 in. Dec. 29, 1841.

[New York.] Encloses two poems of [Arthur Cleveland] Coxe, "An Ode from Sophocles" and "An Extract from an Unpublished Canto of St. Jonathan." Discusses publication of some of Coxe's minor pieces in *The Southern Literary Messenger*, and asks an opportunity to revise his sketch of Coxe's life.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 6 x 4 in. June 15, 1854.

[20 Nassau St.?] Mentions some family papers which may be useful to Griswold.

— A.L.S. To [R. W. Griswold]. 4 pp. 6 x 4 in. Jan. 13, 1855.

[20 Nassau St.?] Information concerning picture of Mrs. [Sarah Van Brugh (Livingston)] Jay for *The Republican Court*.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 6 x 4 in. July 25, n.y.

[N.p.] Encloses a rough draft about Mrs. [Sarah Van Brugh (Livingston)] Jay.

See pp. 97–98, *The Republican Court*.

Johnson, Oliver, *1809–1869*. A. L. S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Dec. 15, 1843.

[Boston.] Asks for information on the art of printing.

Johnson, P. S. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Oct. 17, 1842.

[Wilmington.] Writes on behalf of Mrs. [Georgiana (McCausland)] Pinkney, regarding the publication of poems by her late husband [Edward Coote Pinkney].

An edition of *The Miscellaneous Poems of Edward C. Pinkney* was published in New York in 1844.

Jones, T. N. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 7 x 4 in. Mar. 7, 1855.

[North Reading, Mass.] Finds that R[ichard] H[enry] Stoddard has imitated a poem of the writer's in his "The Two Brides."

Jones, William Alfred, *1817–1900*. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 6 x 4 in. July 1, n.y.

[N.p.] Agrees to furnish two or three articles for *Graham's* despite the low rate of pay.

Judson, Adoniram, *1788–1850*. See Judson, Emily (Chubbuck).

Judson, Emily (Chubbuck), *1817–1854*. A.L.S. To Edward Bright. 4 pp. 8 x 5 in. Dec. 24, 1850.

[Maulmain.] Prefers Dr. Williams to Prof. [William] Gammel as biographer for her husband [Adoniram Judson]. Describes available material about him.

— See also Willis, Nathaniel Parker.

Junius, *pseud.* See Wallace, Horace Binney.

KANE, Elisha Kent, *1820–1857*. See Childs, George William; Kane, Thomas Leiper.

Kane, Thomas Leiper, *1822–1883*. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 7 x 4 in. Dec. 22, 1852.

[Philadelphia.] Sends some biographical material on Dr. [Elisha Kent] Kane, with pictures of Philippine scenes.

Kedney, John Steinfort. See Kidney, John Steinfort.

Keese, John, *1805–1856*. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 6 pp. 10 x 8 in. June 19, 1841.

[New York.] Gives biographical data on [Charles Fenno] Hoffman, and says Hoffman wishes Griswold's note on him to be "the quietest in your book." Asks Griswold to give a notice to the writer's own volume [*The Poets of America*]. Praises [Henry Theodore] Tuckerman.

Gris. Corr., pp. 72–4.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. Jan. 20, 1842.

[New York.] Gives information regarding Mrs. [Emma Catherine (Manley)] Embury and her poems.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Jan. 27, 1842.

[New York.] Sends five poems by Mrs. [Emma Catherine (Manley)] Embury: "The Old Man's Lament," "Peace," "Stanzas," "The Poetic Impulse," and a sonnet.

"The Old Man's Lament" and "Peace" appeared in the 1842 edition of Griswold's *Poets and Poetry of America.*

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Feb. 15, 1842.

[New York.] Sends back proofs of Mrs. [Emma Catherine (Manley)] Embury's memoir, with corrections. Asks return of her poem, "The Poetic Impulse."

—, letter to. See Balmanno, Robert.

— See also Hoffman, Charles Fenno.

Kendrick, Asahel Clark, *1809–1895.* See Willis, Nathaniel Parker.

Kennedy, John Pendleton, *1795–1870.* A.L.S. To Thomas Willis White. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Nov. 3, 1834.

[Baltimore.] Has no time at present to contribute to the [*Southern Literary*] *Messenger.* Praises [James Ewell] Heath's *Edge-hill.*

White published *Edge-hill* in 1828.

— A.L.S. To Edgar Allan Poe. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Dec. 22, 1834.

[Baltimore.] [Henry Charles?] Carey has sold one of Poe's tales to Miss [Eliza] Leslie's *Souvenir,* and the writer has a draft in payment for which he asks Poe to call.

Poe, *Works,* 1902, XVII, p. 3. The tale may have been the "Manuscript Found in a Bottle," first published in the *Baltimore Saturday Visitor* for Oct. 19, 1833, and reprinted in Miss Leslie's *The Gift* (Philadelphia 1836), pp. 67–87.

— A.L.S. To Edgar Allan Poe. 3 pp. 9 x 7 in. Sept. 19, 1835.

[Baltimore.] Encourages Poe, suggesting that he write "some farces in the manner of the French Vaudevilles." Mentions the coincidence between Poe's tale, "Hans Phaal," and the lunar discoveries. Discusses [Thomas Willis] White's publication of Poe's *Tales of the Folio Club.*

Poe, *Works,* 1902, XVII, pp. 19–20. "Hans Phaal — A Tale" appeared in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for June 1835.

— A.L.S. To Edgar Allan Poe. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Dec. 1, 1845.

[Baltimore.] Expresses friendship for Poe, though unable to give financial support to the *Broadway Journal.*

Poe, *Works,* 1902, XVII, pp. 224–5.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Jan. 6, 1846.

[Baltimore.] Encloses a letter of introduction to Judge [Daniel Elliott] Huger of South Carolina. Promises a portrait and some selections from his work for *The Prose Writers of America.* Suggests that [Philip Pendleton] Cooke's poems might be published by Park Benjamin in Baltimore.

Gris. Corr., p. 203.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Sept. 23, 1846.

[Baltimore.] Will send shortly some pamphlets and his portrait. Sends by the same mail his Green Mount Address.

Kennedy's "Green Mount Cemetery" appears in *The Prose Writers of America.*

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp 10 x 8 in. Jan. 13, 1847.

[Annapolis, Md.] Inquires about the progress of *Prose Writers of America,* and about the engraving of the writer's portrait for it.

Gris. Corr., p. 222.

Phila Sept 28/39.

Dear Sir —

As your wish in having your Tales printed is not immediately pecuniary, we will at our own risque dispose print a Small Edition say 1750 copies. This we think will bring but a small profit, which if realized is to be ours. The copy right will remain with you, and when ready a few copies for distribution among your friends, will be at your service.

If this is agreeable will you have them prepared & Mr Hatchard will be ready to go on stereotyping by Tuesday —

To Mr Edgar A Poe &c &c &c

Yours Respectfully

Lea & Blanchard

Oh, shall make 2 Vols of 12 mo size like Babel say 240 pages each

Publisher's Offer to Print Poe's "Tales"

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 8 x 5 in. Apr. 25, 1851.

[Baltimore.] An invitation to the Maryland Historical Society.

Signed also with the names of Brantz Mayer and J. Morrison Harris, but in Kennedy's hand.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 7 x 5 in. Oct., 1851.

[Baltimore.] Eulogy of [James] Fenimore Cooper.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 8 x 5 in. Dec. 22, 1851.

[Baltimore.] Ill health prevents the writer's attending the commemoration of [James Fenimore] Cooper, to be held on December 24 in New York.

For an account of this commemorative meeting which finally took place on February 25, 1852, see Joy Bayless, *Rufus Wilmot Griswold* (Nashville, Tenn. 1943), pp. 207–8.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 7 x 4 in. Sept. 29, 1854. Edged in black.

[Ellicotts Mills.] Gives some information about Mrs. Henrietta (Chew) Carroll for Griswold's *Republican Court.*

Gris. Corr., pp. 297–8.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 8 x 6 in. Feb. 10, 1856.

[Baltimore.] Attributes *The Partisan Leader* to [Nathaniel] Beverley Tucker. Recommends a poem by George Wentz, "The Battle of the Bees," for publication in *Putnam's.*

Gris. Corr., p. 305. *The Partisan Leader,* by Tucker, was secretly printed in 1836, with a fictitious imprint and date of 1856. It was republished in 1861 under Tucker's name. *Cf.* Allibone, *Critical Dictionary of English Literature,* p. 2463.

Wentz's poem appeared unsigned in the August 1856 issue of *Putnam's Magazine.*

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 8 x 6 in. Apr. 7, 1856.

[Baltimore.] Has been delayed in sending [George] Wentz's poem.

This was undoubtedly "The Battle of the Bees," mentioned in Kennedy's letter to Griswold of Feb. 10, 1856.

—, letters to. See Poe, Edgar Allan.

Kennedy, Philip Pendleton, *1808[?]–1864.* A.L.S. To [R. W. Griswold]. 4 pp. 8 x 7 in. Nov. 28, 1851.

[Martinsburg, Berkley Co., Va.] Describes some of his writings which might be suitable for publication in the *International* [*Monthly Magazine*].

Kercheval, Andrew W. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Jan. 22, 1855.

[Romney, Hampshire Co., Virginia.] Suggests the establishment of a magazine to republish the English classics.

Key, Francis Scott, *1779–1843.* See Van Bibber, Thomas Emory.

Kidney, John Steinfort, *1819–1911.* A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Mar. 24, 1843.

[Morganton, Burke Co., N. C.] Encloses a poem for *Graham's,* and mentions others. Congratulates Griswold and the readers of *Graham's* that [Louis LeGrand Noble's poem] "Nimahmin" is to be published.

Kidney's "Verses written in June on Leaving the Catskill Mountains" appeared in the August 1843 number of *Graham's*. "Ni-mah-min: A Metrical Romance" was published serially in *Graham's* in July, August, and September of 1843.

— See also Noble, Louis LeGrand.

Kimball, Richard Burleigh, *1816–1892*. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 7 x 4 in. May 12, 1851. Signed with initials.

[Seventh St.?] Asks Griswold to complete a notice, undertaken by the writer, of a book by [John Esaias] Warren. Mentions Warren's *Vagamundo*.

A notice of Warren's *Paria, or Scenes and Adventures on the Banks of the Amazon,* appeared in the June 1851 issue of the *International Monthly*.

— A.L.S. To Alice Cary. 1 p. 7 x 5 in. Sept. 1, 1855. Signed with initials.

[West Lebanon, N. H.] Invites her to visit.

— A.L.S. To Alice Cary. 2 pp. 7 x 4 in. Sept. 5, 1855.

[West Lebanon, N. H.] Describes the pleasures of country life and again invites her to visit.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 7 x 5 in. July 22, 1857.

[West Lebanon, N. H.] Commiserates with Griswold on his ill health.

King, Charles, *1789–1867*. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 9 x 8 in. Mar. 11[?], n.y.

[Col(umbia) Coll(ege).] Encloses a memoir of his mother [Mary (Alsop) King] and an extract from a letter of John Adams to Rufus King on the occasion of the latter's marriage.

On address leaf, a note signed with initials, W.H.A.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. May 19, n.y.

[Col(umbia) College.] Outlines the procedure in recommending Dr. [Martin Brewer?] Anderson for an LL.D.

Kinney, Elizabeth Clementine (Dodge) Stedman, *1810–1889*. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 9 x 7 in. Jan. 30, 1850.

[Park House, Newark.] Sends a critique of Mrs. [Frances (Sargent)] Osgood's *Poems*. Dr. [Abraham] Coles is relieved to have been left out [of the tenth edition of Griswold's *Poets and Poetry of America*].

— See also Kinney, William Burnet.

Kinney, William Burnet, *1799–1880*. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 9 x 8 in. Aug. 22, 1848.

[Newark.] Gives biographical data, and encloses some poems, including "The Spirit of Song," of his wife, Mrs. [Elizabeth Clementine (Dodge) Stedman] Kinney.

"The Spirit of Song" appears in *Female Poets of America*.

Kohl, Johann Georg, *1808–1878*. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 7 x 4 in. Dec. 17, 1854.

[Brooklyn. Congress St.] Hopes Griswold is recovering his health.

L., S. Y. Mss. poems. 4 pp. 11 x 8 in. N.d.
"A Dream," "Time," and "The Voices of the Winds."

L., V. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. N.d.
[Senate Chamber.] Tuesday. Describes the election of S[amuel] S[thethar] Phelps as United States Senator.
Phelps was elected U. S. Senator from Vermont in 1838, and was re-elected 1839–51.

Langley, Henry G. A.L. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Feb. 3, 1844. Written and signed by J. L[angley].
[New York.] Asks for a list of "small fry" English poetasters, whom the writers (with [John Louis] O'Sullivan) propose to attack in the *Democratic Review.*
The article, written by William Alfred Jones as a retaliation against British criticism of Griswold's *Poets and Poetry of America,* appeared in the *Democratic Review* for April 1844.

— See also Langley, J. and H. G.

Langley, J. See Langley, J. and H. G.; Langley, Henry G.

Langley, J. and H. G. A. L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Nov. 7, 1842. Written by J. L[angley].
[New York.] Inquires concerning "the manuscript of Dana's," possession of which would ward off criticism of [Benjamin Moore] Norman's book on Yucatan.
Norman's *Rambles in Yucatan* was published by the Langleys (New York 1842).

Lanman, Charles, *1819–1895.* A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Mar. 31, 1845.
[New York.] Discusses the writer's retirement to the country, and his book *Summer Hours.*

Lawson, Mary Lockhart. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. N.d.
[N.p.] Asks Griswold to have her name restored to the list of contributors to *Graham's.*

Lea and Blanchard. A.L.S. To Edgar Allan Poe. 1 p. 8 x 5 in. Sept. 28, 1839.
[Philadelphia.] An offer to print Poe's *Tales [of the Grotesque and Arabesque].*
The first edition of the book appeared under the imprint of Lea and Blanchard, Philadelphia 1840.

— A.L.S. To Edgar Allan Poe. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Aug 16[?], 1841.
[Philadelphia.] Lea and Blanchard are unable to publish a new collection of Poe's tales.
Poe, *Works,* 1902, XVII, pp. 101–2.

Ledyard, George, letter to. See Ledyard, John.

Ledyard, John, *1751–1789.* A.L.S. To Thomas and George Ledyard. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Feb. 23, 1785.
[L'Orient, France.] Describes his life in France and his prospects.

— Ms. copy of letter. To Abigail Moore. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. June, 1788.

[London.] An account of the writer's exploits, and plans for further travels.

At the end, a note regarding Ledyard's death in Cairo, January 1789.

Ledyard, Thomas, letter to. See Ledyard, John.

Lee, Arthur [Tracy, *d. 1879*?] A.L.S. To George Rex Graham. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. May 14, 1843.

[St. Augustine, E. F.] Encloses a poem for *Graham's*.

Legaré, James Mathews, *1823–1859*. A.L.S. To Thomas Powell. 6 pp. 8 x 5 in. Nov. 16, 1849.

[Aiken, S. Carolina.] Praises Powell's book [*The Living Authors of England,* New York 1849]. Is forwarding his own poems.

Legaré's *Orta–Undis and Other Poems* was published in 1848.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 8 x 5 in. May 31, n.y.

[Aiken.] Invites Griswold to visit.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 8 x 5 in. N.d.

[N. York.] Explains his presence in New York; hopes to meet Griswold there.

Leland, Charles Godfrey, *1824–1903*. A.L.S. To [R. W. Griswold]. 4 pp. 7 x 6 in. Jan. 30, 1852.

[Philadelphia.] Expresses contempt for George [Rex] Graham's criticism. Encloses some notices. Has just finished an article on art.

Gris. Corr., p. 282.

— A.L.S. To [R. W. Griswold]. 3 pp. 6 x 4 in. Sept. 25, 1854.

[No. 366 Locust St. Philadelphia.] News of the death of the writer's mother. Discusses means of promoting the *Knickerbocker* [*Gallery*]. Mentions possible publication of the writer's *Poetry and Mystery of Dreams* by Scribners.

The Knickerbocker Gallery, an anthology of selections from the *Knickerbocker Magazine,* was published in New York in 1855 by Samuel Hueston.

— A.L. To [R. W. Griswold]. 4 pp. 6 x 4 in. Dec. 9, 1854. Unsigned.

[No. 366 Locust St. Philadelphia.] Has written notices of Griswold's *Republican Court* for the [Philadelphia] *Inquirer, Arthur's* [*Home Magazine*], Fitzgerald's *City Item,* and *Bizarre.* Is making other efforts to promote the book.

— A.L.S. To [R. W. Griswold]. 4 pp. 7 x 4 in. Dec. 28, 1854. Edged in black.

[No. 366 Locust St. Philadelphia.] Praises Griswold's *Republican Court.* Asks him to recommend publication of the writer's book [*Poetry and Mystery of Dreams*] to [D.] Appleton [and Co.].

— A.L.S. To [R. W. Griswold]. 4 pp. 7 x 4 in. Jan. 26, 1855. Edged in black.

[No. 366 Locust St. Philadelphia.] Mentions [George G.] Foster's forgery. Asks for a copy of Alice Cary's poems, of which he will write a notice. Ridicules "the Chess–poem" by "Mother" [Mrs. Anna?] Bache.

— A.L.S. To [R. W. Griswold]. 3 pp. 7 x 4 in. Mar. 27, 1855. Edged in black.

[No. 366 Locust St. Philadelphia.] Asks Griswold to speed the publication of *Meister Karl['s Sketchbook]*. Mentions a sale of [Edward Duffield?] Ingraham's books. Praises [Horace Binney] Wallace's book [*Art, Scenery and Philosophy in Europe.*]

— A.L.S. To [R. W. Griswold]. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. July 7, 1855.

[Office Evening Bulletin. Philadelphia.] Inquires about the terms of his contract with [Justus Starr] Redfield for *Meister Karl['s Sketch Book]*.

— A.L.S. To [R. W. Griswold]. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Nov. 12, 1855.

[Bulletin Office. Philadelphia.] Sends the prospectus of *Meister Karl['s Sketch Book]* and mentions his dedication of the book to Griswold.

Written on the first leaf of Parry & McMillan's printed announcement to the trade of *Meister Karl's Sketch Book.*

— A.L.S. To [R. W. Griswold]. 4 pp. 7 x 5 in. Nov. 26, 1855.

[Office Evening Bulletin.] Does not understand why Griswold has refused to have *Meister Karl['s Sketch Book]* dedicated to him.

Gris. Corr., p. 301.

— A.L.S. To [R. W. Griswold]. 2 pp. 8 x 5 in. June 10, 1856.

[La Piene (?) Hotel. Philadelphia.] Is sending a copy of Henry [Perry Leland]'s "Gray Bay Mare." Mentions a letter of Washington Irving praising *Meister Karl['s Sketch Book]*. Will probably not have his "Sloper" ready for publication by [James Cephas] Derby by fall.

Henry Perry Leland's *The Grey-bay Mare and Other Humorous American Sketches* was published in Philadelphia in 1870.

— A.L.S. To [R. W. Griswold]. 2 pp. 8 x 5 in. Oct. 9, 1856.

[Office Evening Bulletin. Philadelphia.] Asks for help with publishers in obtaining advertisements and books for notice in *Graham's Ladies' Paper,* of which the writer is editor.

Written on the front leaves of a printed announcement of *Graham's Ladies' Paper.*

— A.L.S. To [R. W. Griswold]. 4 pp. 8 x 5 in. Feb. 8, 1857.

[Girard House. Philadelphia.] Expresses regret at Griswold's ill health. Complains of overwork, and reminisces about his days as Griswold's assistant on the *Illustrated News.*

— A.L.S. To [R. W. Griswold]. 4 pp. 8 x 5 in. Mar. 30, 1857.

[*Graham's Illustrated Magazine.*] Sympathy over Griswold's illness. Inquires about the Rev. Asahel Abbott, the author of "Pandora," a work on mythology. Comments on his own work for *Graham's Magazine.*

Gris. Corr., pp. 307–8.

— A.L.S. To [R. W. Griswold]. 4 pp. 7 x 4 in. N.d. Edged in black.

[No. 366 Locust St. Philadelphia.] Mentions the sale of Griswold's *Republican Court.* Asks about the cost of printing his [*Poetry and Mystery of*] *Dreams* himself. Discusses his maltreatment by [D.] Appleton [and Co.].

Leland's compilation, *The Poetry and Mystery of Dreams,* was published by E. H. Butler & Co., Philadelphia 1856.

Leland, Henry Perry, *1828–1868.* See Leland, Charles Godfrey.

Leslie, Eliza, *1787–1858.* A.L.A. To George Rex Graham. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Feb. 8, 1842.

[No. 309 Chesnut [sic] St.] Sends an article for the April number of *Graham's.* Wants the public to know that what she writes for the magazine "(during the year 1842) will be literal truth, without the slightest mixture of fiction."

Miss Leslie's contribution to the April 1842 *Graham's* was Part the First of "Recollections of West Point," pp. 205–9. Part Second appeared in the May 1842 issue, pp. 290–95.

Lewis, Estelle Anna Blanche (Robinson), *1824–1880.* A.L. To George Rex Graham. 2 pp. 9 x 7 in. June 12, 1843. Signature cut out, mutilating text of p. 1.

[Troy.] Is sending "Landon," "Sappho," "Gertrude," "The Ennuyée," and "The Maiden's Grief" for *Graham's,* with suggestions for their illustration.

"Sappho," "Gertrude," and "The Maiden's Grief" were published in Mrs. Lewis's *Records of the Heart* (New York 1844).

— A.L.S. To [R. W. Griswold]. 4 pp. 7 x 4 in. Sept. 20, [1850].

[125 Dean St.] Discusses Poe's authorship of a sketch of the writer in *Female Poets of America,* à propos of some correspondence published in the third volume of Griswold's edition of Poe's works [*The Literati* (New York 1850), p. vi]. Sends a poem, "Aureana." Expects [John?] Cheney to finish her portrait soon.

Poe, *Works,* 1902, XVII, pp. 415–6.

— A.L.S. To ——. 1 p. 7 x 4 in. Apr. 4, n.y.

[N.p.] Discusses a proposed collected edition of her poems. Sends a letter regarding the sale of her *Child of the Sea* in Albany.

A Child of the Sea and Other Poems was published in 1848.

— See also Lewis, Sylvanus D.; Poe, Edgar Allan; Thayer, R. M. [?]; Victor, Orville James.

Lewis, Sarah Anna. See Lewis, Estelle Anna Blanche (Robinson).

(*To be continued.*)

The Lithographs of Fantin-Latour

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

THE middle of the nineteenth century found a number of artists weary of existing conditions in art. Among them were several observers who distinguished themselves by their keen judgment of fine painting and knowledge of fundamental principles. Independent in their consideration of contemporaries, they were always respectful of the old masters. They were called Realists. To the public they represented all that was neither classic nor romantic.

The movement became a protest against the degeneracy of the academic school. Realism was a return to the expression of daily life, not unlike that which Géricault had pursued so passionately and that which Delacroix had resolved in his principal works. It stood in opposition to eclecticism and skepticism, reflecting an ardent faith in the study of nature. Courbet is looked upon as the initial influence of this re-birth in painting; and, although it would be difficult to state whether or not he was responsible for the forming of the new school, he had elicited great admiration by his inspiring work and theories. His prestige brought together a prominent group of young artists: Bonvin, Ribot, Legros, Whistler, Bracquemond, and Manet, later to be followed by Duran, Vollon, and others.

A central figure among them was Henri Fantin-Latour. Born at Grenoble on January 14, 1836, he was the son of Theodore Fantin-Latour, a regular contributor to the annual Salons until about 1866. It was in his father's ateliers in the Latin Quarter of Paris that young Fantin received his first instruction in art. He later studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts with Professor Lecoq de Boisbaudran, the teacher of many of the realists. At an early age, he became a constant visitor at the Louvre, studying the works of Velásquez, Rubens, Rembrandt, Frans Hals, Nicolas Maas, Vermeer de Delft, and Pieter de Hooch, as well as Titian and Veronese, Watteau, and Chardin.

An essentially French artist, Fantin-Latour was the first to disclaim any particular French characteristics in his work. "My

father's family," he wrote, "was of Italian origin and my mother was Russian. The name Fantin was derived from San Fantino and at the end of the seventeenth century Latour was added to that of Fantin. There is too much mixed blood in my veins for any question of school or nationality to work upon me."

Although Delacroix's influence on him was lasting, it cannot be said that Fantin followed the great colorist closely. However, students of painting often look upon his work as a link between the painting of today and that of the romantic school. Fantin was an exacting portrait painter, obtaining much of his experience by painting himself. He made admirable portraits of Manet, Alphonse Legros, Lecoq de Boisbaudran, and remarkable group-canvases such as "Hommage à Delacroix," "Atelier des Batignolles," "Autour du Piano," "La Table," and others. His flower paintings were, from a financial point of view, the most successful; indeed, they made it possible for him to have some leisure for experimentation with the lithographic stone.

Brushing aside conventional methods, he prepared his stone by cutting or incising the surface with a sharp instrument, which created an interesting technique when drawn upon with the crayon. In printing it produced white and slightly embossed areas, giving an unusual vibration between the rich dark values. This method led to the further experiment of placing a thin paper over coarsely grained paper, and transferring the drawing to a smooth, finely ground stone, thus allowing the laid mark to determine the texture of the impression. There is little retouching of the subjects done in this technique, for any changes would have a tendency to break the paper.

However, Fantin-Latour's method changed with the development of his career. Sometimes he used the accepted method of a coarse, abrasive grain, giving the effect of aquatint or stipple engraving; employed stringy broken lines with rich blacks and singing whites; or made tonal compositions of silvery and delicate greys on a finely grained surface. Some of his prints are executed with extreme care, while others show great freedom in the long, wiry, vibrant strokes either drawn directly with the crayon or the result of preparatory scraping. These latter give the effect of lithotint, for the scraping after the drawing was done on the stone.



The Rhine Maidens
Lithograph by Fantin-Latour, Reduced

Many of the rapid summary drawings on stone, executed for future reference, possess the stamp of a master draftsman in his feverish desire to capture an impression. These were to serve as a foundation for the more creative compositions. In his prints, filled with luminosity and life-giving vibration, Fantin-Latour much more nearly attained the feeling of color and light than did most of the painters of his time. He enriched lithography with a visionary mixing of warm and cool tones — a completely new technical achievement.

Most of Fantin-Latour's lithographs were inspired by the music of the celebrated composers of his day. On hearing the Ring of the Nibelungen for the first time at Bayreuth, he was deeply moved. "Venusberg" marks a decisive period in his artistic life. There are memorable records of Tannhäuser, Wotan, Erda, and the Rhine Maidens in graceful rhythm, and of the unforgettable finale of the Rheingold, where, under the blow of the god Donner's hammer, a brilliant rainbow appears. The works of Berlioz, Brahms, Schumann, and Rossini also stimulated the artist's imagination. His lithographs are interpretations of the musical themes rather than literal translations. They convey the passion of the composers with lasting creative powers of his own. These excursions into musical subjects, instead of the *plein air,* were perhaps costly to Fantin-Latour's art, as limiting his field. But who would venture to say that his lithographs are inferior to those of his contemporaries?

Through the gift of Mr. Albert H. Wiggin, the Print Department of the Boston Public Library has recently acquired Fantin's own collection of his lithographs, comprising 195 subjects with 260 states. The collection, the most complete in existence, was purchased from M. Julien Tempelaere, whose father was a devoted friend of the artist and who inherited it from his widow. Many of the impressions are proof prints dedicated to G. Tempelaere and Madame Fantin-Latour, before her marriage Mlle. Dubourg.

A catalogue of Fantin's lithographic works was first published in 1892 by Germain Hédiard. Seven years later, in connection with a comprehensive exhibit at the Luxembourg Museum, a new edition was issued. Finally a catalogue of the complete works, with Hédiard's essay on Fantin, was published

in 1906, two years after Fantin's death. It was Hédiard who also prepared the *L'Oeuvre lithographique de Fantin-Latour,* of 1907, containing heliographic facsimiles of all the lithographs. Both catalogues were made on the basis of Fantin's personal collection. These same prints had been exhibited in 1899 at the Luxembourg — and are now in the possession of the Boston Public Library. One may mention here that the Bibliothèque Nationale was anxious to obtain a number of the prints to round out their holdings; the heirs, however, refused to break up the collection because, with few exceptions, all items are proof prints, selected by the artist.

The French lithographers of the nineteenth century are known the world over, yet some names seldom get beyond a small group of discriminating collectors. This particularly applies to Fantin who deserves much wider recognition. One cannot help feeling that his work is perhaps the most diversified of the group. A revival of interest in it must come in the not too distant future.

This is the third great gift made by Mr. Albert H. Wiggin to the Library within the past eighteen months, the other two being the collections of lithographs of Daumier and Gavarni.

Notes on Rare Books

Ticknor Anniversary

THIS fall will be the one-hundredth anniversary of the publication of George Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature.* The work is the first comprehensive study of the subject — the foundation of all the researches made since by Spanish scholars. In celebration of the centenary, an exhibition of more than one hundred volumes selected from the Ticknor Collection has been arranged in the Treasure Room. The Library received Ticknor's books, nearly four thousand volumes, in 1871; and, thanks to the Ticknor Fund, the Collection now includes over eight thousand items.

In a central show-case is displayed the manuscript of Ticknor's *History,* bound in three volumes. "Whole number of Mss pages, 2248." Ticknor wrote on the first leaf, and he calculated that they would add up to 1599 printed pages or "three vols. octavo of 533 pp. each." He erred only by twenty-four pages, for the first edition of his work comprises 1623 pages. The case holds also the Spanish, German, and French translations of the *History,* as well as the second, third, and fourth editions in English. It was by the third edition of 1864 that Ticknor established the final text of his work. Using a copy of the second edition, he made many changes in the margins and pasted in innumerable slips of blue paper containing his corrections and additions, with careful instructions for the printer.

The selection of the material for the exhibition has been a difficult task because of the very wealth of the Collection. At the time of Ticknor's writing, no reprints of Spanish books were available — the great series of the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* was begun in 1846 — and therefore Ticknor was obliged to procure for himself first and other early editions. Hundreds of his volumes bear the book-plates of private Spanish libraries, besides the names of such English Hispanic scholars as Lord Holland, Robert Southey, and John R. Chorley. The value and character of the *History* were early recognized. "Infinite credit is due to the author," Richard Ford, himself a distinguished writer on Spain, noted in the *Quarterly Review* in 1850, "for the great number of rare and curious books which he has pointed out, for his careful tracing of their editions, and the exact indications of chapter and verse on his margin. Those only who have gone over the same ground can duly estimate the amount

of unpretending industry, the absence of second-hand quotation, and the prolonged labors condensed in his thousand foot-notes."

The Collection is equally rich in every phase of Spanish literature, from the early *romanceros* and *cancioneros* through the great historical chronicles, the novels of chivalry, lyrics, epics, and dramas of the Golden Age to the elaborate compositions of the baroque period. Each is represented in the exhibition by some of its most significant productions. A row of cases is filled with the first and other early editions of Cervantes — of *Don Quijote, Novelas Ejemplares, Viage del Parnaso, Persiles y Sigismunda,* and so on. About twelve volumes by Lope de Vega, among them the manuscript of *El Castigo sin Venganza,* are grouped together; the works of the great dramatist, to whom Ticknor devoted nearly two hundred pages, alone would fill the Treasure Room. Then there are the chronicles of Alfonso the Wise, of the Constable Alvaro de Luna, of the Great Captain, Gonzalo de Cordoba, besides those of the various cities and provinces. Of the thirty-two novels mentioned by title in *Don Quijote,* the Library has twenty-two in first editions, not counting the other early editions. Only the first editions of the *Amadis de Gaula,* the *Esplandian,* and the *Palmerin* have been placed on view.

Rarities like the earliest edition of *Celestina* containing all the twenty-one acts of the play, printed in 1502 in Seville; the *Diana* of Montemayor, supposedly of 1542; the *Obras* of Boscán and of Garcilaso, 1543; the *Versos* of Herrera, 1619; and Tirso de Molina's *Los Cigarrales de Toledo,* 1624, would give distinction to any exhibition of Spanish books anywhere. Incunabula printed at Seville, Burgos, Zamora, Saragossa, Salamanca, Barcelona, etc. — twenty-five in all — occupy a row by themselves. Among them are Ortiz's *Cinco Tratados,* with the earliest reference to the discovery of America; Juan de Mena's *Coronación,* a panegyric on the great Marquis of Santillana; and the *Constituciones de Cataluña,* the codex of the feudal laws of the Catalan kingdom.

The exhibition includes a number of books printed in, or related to, Latin America. Among these are the *Regla Christiana Breve,* printed in 1547 in Mexico City, one of the earliest editions of the first book produced in the Western hemisphere; and the *Arauco domado,* an epic in *octava rima* on the conquest of the war-like Araucanians, printed in 1593 in Lima by Antonio Ricardo, the first printer of South America; Bishop de las Casas's *Destruycion de las Indias,* 1552, with its English translation of 1583; grammars of the *Lengua Mexicana;* and the *Obras* of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, the seventeenth-century Mexican poetess.

The exhibition will be on view till the end of August. It will be followed by an exhibition of the Book of Common Prayer, to be arranged for the four hundredth anniversary of its first printing.

Pharmaceutical Botany a Century Ago

THE Library's Codman Collection of horticultural works has been enriched by a scarce and valuable botanical work *Getreue Darstellung und Beschreibung der in der Arzneykunde gebräuchlichen Gewächse* (A faithful Representation and Description of the Plants used in Pharmacology), printed in Berlin in fourteen large quarto volumes from 1805 to 1846. Each volume contains some fifty full-page hand-colored etchings of plants. The first eleven volumes are by Friedrich Gottlob Hayne, a distinguished botanist born in 1763, who in 1814 became professor at the University of Berlin. After Hayne's death in 1832, two further volumes were prepared by J. F. Brandt and J. T. C. Ratzeburg, which appeared in 1837, and a fourteenth, by Friedrich Klotzsch, was added in 1846. The Library's set lacks the twelfth and fourteenth volumes. The work was published at the authors' expense and sold by subscription. It must have been highly regarded, for a second edition of thirteen volumes was published in Leipzig in 1853–55.

This excellent work, though no longer of practical use to the apothecary, retains much to delight and instruct the student of botany today. It seems that even at the time of publication many of the plants described were already obsolete or obsolescent as medicines, and in that respect had only a historic interest. But, while pharmaceutic plants were his theme, the authors' approach was clearly not that of the druggist, but of the expert, painstaking botanist.

Hayne naturally followed the system of classification and the style of nomenclature perfected by Linnaeus. The general scheme of presentation is as follows: each plate introduces a particular species, the various species being grouped according to their genus. The name of the species consists of the name of the genus with the specific name attached. Thus the humble buttercup is presented as *Trollius Europaeus* — Trollius being the generic, Europaeus the specific name. Beneath the name appears the Linnaean classification according to number and position of the stamens and pistils expressed in Latinized forms of Greek word combinations, like "penandria trigynia" (five stamens and three pistils). The name of the flower family is not given, but in the first eight volumes it has been written above or below the pictures in ink, possibly by Dr.

Hayne himself. The descriptive texts give bibliographical references for each plant, headed always by Linnaeus's *Species Plantarum* in the edition of Willdenow. Then follow the popular German names of the plant and a list of the countries and regions in which it grows. After that come the descriptions of root, stem, leaves, parts of the flower, fruit, and seeds. The author compares similar species to facilitate identification, and gives an abundance of information on the ecology, cultivation, and distribution of the plants. Finally he discusses their medicinal and dietary uses — and the dire effects of overdoses.

The plates show the flowers, the fruits, or the entire plants. In addition, they contain representations, both life-size and magnified, of such details as a honey cup, parts of a stamen, a pistil, and the cross-section of an ovary or of a seed. An immense variety of plants are included and scientific democracy prevails — common wayside flowers, beautiful roses, the familiar oak or apple-tree, and the different kinds of tea shrubs being described with equal care.

It must not be supposed that this is merely a compilation, for Hayne was an empirical observer and original investigator, as he himself frequently asserts. In differentiating certain species of the blackberry, he tells of his own discovery of the species *Rubus Nemorosus* with rose-colored petals. He himself named several species, as for instance the hitherto unrecognized one of the little flower eyebright, which he called *Euphrasia Rostkovina,* after a Dr. Rostkovius who found a specimen near Stettin; or a species of the Brazilian Copaifera tree, *Copaifera Martii,* after its discoverer, the botanical explorer Von Martius.

It is surprising how much of historical or folkloristic interest attaches to plant names. One learns, for example, that the Cincona tree (Peruvian bark), which furnishes quinine, derived its name from the wife of a Count Chinchon, Spanish Viceroy in Lima in the early seventeenth century, who was cured from a fever by the bark of the tree. The willow-herb genus *Lysimachia* was said to be named after King Lysimachus, son of Agathocles, the fourth-century B. C. tyrant of Syracuse, who was believed to have discovered it. Nearer home, the *Maranta Arundinacea* (named in the early eighteenth century after a physician Maranta) was popularly called Indian Arrowroot because it had the power to draw the juice of the manchineel tree, with which the Indians poisoned their arrows, out of the wounds.

The medicinal and household uses of the plants, as recorded by the authors, range from bed-side observations to accounts of superstitions about sorcery. They offer something of interest from various points of

view, besides showing the state of pharmacy in the early nineteenth century. It is curious that for the *Digitalis Purpurea* Hayne mentions several medical uses, but not the one for which it is known today — its tonic effect on the heart. Specialists, no doubt, will recognize many other plants whose healing properties have been developed in the course of the past hundred years.

MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

The First Edition of Huon de Bordeaux

AN extremely rare item among the Library's early French books is the Paris 1513 edition of *Les prouesses et faits merveilleux du noble Huon de Bordeaux,* issued by Jehan Petit. Bound in contemporary stamped morocco on boards, the volume is in small folio form, with *bâtarde* type, in two columns of forty-four lines. It has 194 leaves, and each chapter begins with an ornamental initial. The last leaf bears the printer's mark, two lions holding a shield marked with the fleur-de-lys; the colophon, however, states that the printing was done by Michel le Noir. It uses the expression "nouvellement imprimé," which shows that there had been a still earlier edition. It should be noted that the earliest edition listed by Brunet is the one printed in 1516.

A striking feature of the book is the profusion of its illustrations. There are eighty-seven woodcuts, twelve of which are repeats. Eight of these are of half-page size; the rest are smaller, three by four or two by three inches. The largest cut is on the title-page — a knight on horse-back, intended to represent Huon de Bordeaux himself. However, the printer also used the picture to do service in other books, for other heroes.

The story is well-known to students of Romance literatures. It concerns young Huon, who killed one of Charlemagne's sons in self-defense. The King of the Franks is with difficulty persuaded not to execute the youth but to send him instead on a perilous voyage to the land of the Saracens; there he is to kiss Esclarmonde, the daughter of Gaudisse, and take away a piece of the latter's beard as well as three of his teeth! In Palestine Huon chances to meet his father's old servant, and several friends and relatives. Helped by the dwarf Auberon, he succeeds in all his enterprises, and brings Esclarmonde back to France with him. At home, the treason of his brother is discovered, and Huon reigns *seigneur* of his fief.

Huon de Bordeaux was composed in verse form probably by a *trouvère* of Picardie at the end of the twelfth century, and was sung by

the jongleurs in castles and market-places throughout the country. Several early manuscript copies are preserved at Tours, Paris, and Turin. Jehan Bonfons wrote a prose version in the middle of the fifteenth century, which is now lost; the first printed edition, that of 1513, is apparently based on Bonfons's work. Other editions soon followed in France. Sir John Bourchier, Lord Berners, made an English translation, published in London about 1540, which Shakespeare may have read and used for his *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* transforming the dwarf Auberon into the elf-king Oberon. (The original poem was not printed until 1860.)

The work is especially interesting as it shows the assimilation of the body of Celtic legends, brought to favor at the court of Queen Aliénor d'Aquitaine, into the earlier heroic matter of the *chansons de geste.* It belongs to the Carolingian *cycle du roi,* a collection of poems relating to Charlemagne. However, the spirit of the early epics was changing, for the people were beginning to tire of the great king. Instead of the magnanimous conqueror of the *Song of Roland,* he is represented in *Huon* as something like a villain, a severe tyrant who sends the innocent youth on impossible errands. He is no longer the monarch in the prime of life, but an old man ready to quit his throne.

The wars and deeds of the *Song of Roland,* with its almost entirely male cast of characters, are now transformed by the growing interest in women, who were, incidentally, eager patrons of the jongleurs. Huon performs many feats of arms, but he is also shown enamored of "la belle Esclarmonde," who becomes a major figure in the story.

The circulation of the Celtic legends from Brittany, with their elves, dragons, and pagan magic, had likewise influenced the poem. The Round Table cycle, or the *chanson d'aventures,* was to spring from this material later on; *Huon* marks the transition between the stern simplicity of the *Song of Roland* and the fairy-tale chivalry of the Arthurian romances. The Crusades, too, had brought about an acquaintance with the Orient; much of *Huon's* action takes place there.

The publication of the story in prose reflects the spirit of the late Middle Ages. In the twelfth century both baron and merchant preferred to hear a jongleur reciting the troubadour's latest literary ventures, leaving the perusal of manuscripts to the clerics. With the invention of printing, however, literacy rapidly increased. Books were published to be read by the people, rather than as scripts to be memorized, and improvised upon, by professional singers. And when the poems were no longer sung nor accompanied by the lute,

their defects were more evident. At any rate, the public liked to read prose more than poetry.

The Library's copy is in excellent condition. Several leaves contain manuscript notes by 16th- and 17th-century owners — William Ffaunte, William Darcy, and Henry Darcy. On the penultimate page, strangely enough, is an order for a "due inquisition" into the "robberies committed this present morning" upon certain clothiers. It is signed by two men — one George and the other Thomas (the rest is illegible) — in the name of the Queen.

JEAN D. LAMB

The Art of Ingenuity

THE Ticknor Collection of the Library, which is so rich in volumes of the Spanish baroque period, has a copy of the second edition of the *Agudeza y arte de ingenio,* one of the most revealing works of Baltasar Gracián, the author of *El Criticón, El Héroe,* and *El Oráculo manual.* The volume, bearing the title-page of the third edition, was printed at Huesca, in Aragón, in 1648.

The book offers a complete theory of *conceptismo* — the presentation of complex ideas in compressed form — which at that time was both a source of pride and a plague to the country. Gracián did not always make use of the *conceptista* style himself, and, when he did, he felt somewhat guilty about it; indeed, he may have written this *apologia* for the new technique to soothe his own conscience. As Aubrey Bell puts it in his monograph on Gracián: "One cannot help suspecting that he was anxious to find an excuse for his own juggling with words." And perhaps he himself was not unaware of the pitfalls lurking behind the new theory, which was intended to avoid all the follies of the *culteranos,* at once his literary companions and enemies, who loved luxuriant, complicated expression. "It was a dangerous theory," Bell writes, "since even the talented Gracián could not always infuse thought into verbal affectations, and when the current fails his ingenuities become as barren and insipid as those of the *culteranos* whom he condemned."

The first edition, entitled simply *Arte de ingenio,* was published in 1642 under the name Lorenzo Gracián. Because of his canonical affiliations, Baltasar apparently felt it more fitting and less dangerous to assume the name of a civil resident. Lorenzo may have been a brother of his, although in the book itself, where his connections are discussed in some detail, his name is not mentioned. This device was followed in the publication of all his works. Six years after the

appearance of the *Arte,* Manuel de Salinas, a relative of Gracián's publisher, Lastanosa, saw an exquisite opportunity to immortalize his own translations of Martial: he persuaded Gracián to prepare a second edition of the work, substituting in it these translations for those previously used.

The book is divided into sixty-three chapters, in which the various forms and occasions for the use of *conceptismo* are described. Besides the epigrams of Martial, there are many examples interpolated from both the classics and the great Spanish artists. It is curious to note the effect of passages from such purists as Garcilaso de la Vega and Fray Luis de León, in the midst of what one critic calls "a veritable anthology of *conceptista* and *culterano* poets." The diction is of the very type which the author attempts to analyze. The first pages are devoted to the obvious merits of, and the necessity for, wit in literature, and to a delineation of the essential character of this literary wit. According to Gracián, "Understanding without wit, without rhetorical twists, is sun without light, without rays . . . Wit is the food of the soul." These preliminary counsels are succeeded by the exposition of specific methods, the exercise of which leads to witty composition. Among the many techniques are "wit by similarity," "by disparity," "by ingenious transposition," "by exaggeration," "by paradox," and "by sententious verses."

Heroic sayings form an important part of the new literary method. Caesar was a master of these; nevertheless, Gracián thought that a greater master would have improved the celebrated *"Veni, vidi, vici,"* by the rephrasing, *"Vine, vi, venció Dios,"* ("I came, I saw, God conquered"). Plays on words are not outlawed, if they are done with cleverness and originality. Ladies' names, especially such short ones as Ana, afford an abundance of sophisticated ambiguity. In short, anything was acceptable if it led to the literary ideal, "wit and the art of ingenuity."

Doris L. Cross

The Last Novels of Jane Austen

AN interesting story lies behind the posthumous publication of Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion,* the first editions of which, issued in four volumes by John Murray of London in 1818, the Library has recently acquired.

The title-page does not identify the author by name, but rather by mention of her two previous works. The first volume includes a biographical notice of the author. Written by her brother Henry,

the sketch describes Miss Austen's uneventful life, characterizing it as one of "usefulness, literature and religion" — and assuring the readers of her religious orthodoxy. This is followed by "An Advertisement by the Authoress, to Northanger Abbey." In it Miss Austen tells her public that "thirteen years have passed since the book was finished, many more since it was begun" and that "during that period, places, manners, books, and opinions have undergone considerable changes."

According to Miss Austen's sister, Cassandra, the book was written in 1797 and 1798, and given the title *Susan*. In 1803 the manuscript was revised and sold for £10 to Crosby and Company in London, who allowed it to lie untouched in a safe. In a letter dated 5 April, 1809, the novelist inquired why the manuscript had not been published and talked of taking it to another publisher. The hasty answer of the firm threatened to bring suit if any other company should publish the book, offering at the same time to resell the manuscript for the purchase price.

The offer was accepted by Miss Austen, through one of her brothers, in 1816. Though she never enjoyed the great popularity which was accorded Maria Edgeworth and Fanny Burney, it is certain that the Crosby Company would not have been so cavalier in its dealings with her if it had known about her identity and her modest success as the author of *Sense and Sensibility, Pride and Prejudice, Mansfield Park,* and *Emma,* all of which appeared anonymously a few years before.

Meanwhile, in 1809, a novel was published under the title *Susan*. Miss Austen rechristened hers *Catherine*. "Miss Catherine is put upon the shelf for the present," she wrote her niece in 1817, "but I do not know that she will ever come out; — but I have something ready for publication, which may perhaps appear about a twelvemonth hence. It is short, about the length of Catherine." The note indicates that Miss Austen did not intend to have the manuscript published in its state. Yet it is precisely this version which reached the public, posthumously, as *Northanger Abbey*. The title seems to have been Henry Austen's idea.

The "something ready for publication" is doubtless a reference to *Persuasion*, which was written in 1815 and 1816. Miss Austen was not satisfied with the ending and canceled the final chapter, substituting two newly-written ones. Something of her view of the work is evident in a letter to her niece: "You may perhaps like the Heroine, as she is almost too good for me." Like her other works, both novels tell the story of two young people who discover their

love for each other. At the same time Jane Austen comments on the upper-middle class English society of which she herself was a member.

Northanger Abbey is also interesting for its exposition of the author's theory of the novel. The naïve young heroine of the story has a lively imagination which is excited by the sensational novels of the day, like those of "Monk" Lewis and Mrs. Radcliffe. This gives Miss Austen a chance for a delightful satire of these fantastic works. She also quietly pokes fun at the reading public which affected to disdain all novels, although it actually enjoyed them immensely. She regarded the novel, as she explained in *Northanger Abbey,* as "some work in which the greatest powers of the mind are displayed, in which the most thorough knowledge of human nature, the happiest delineation of its varieties, the liveliest effusions of wit and humour are conveyed to the world in the best chosen language."

Jane Austen wrote of everyday incidents in the life with which she was familiar. It was a narrow province, but one in which she succeeded perfectly. Her own estimate of her work was modest: "A little bit of ivory, two inches wide, on which I work with a brush so fine as to produce little effect after much labor."

MARY ROBERTSON

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Contents

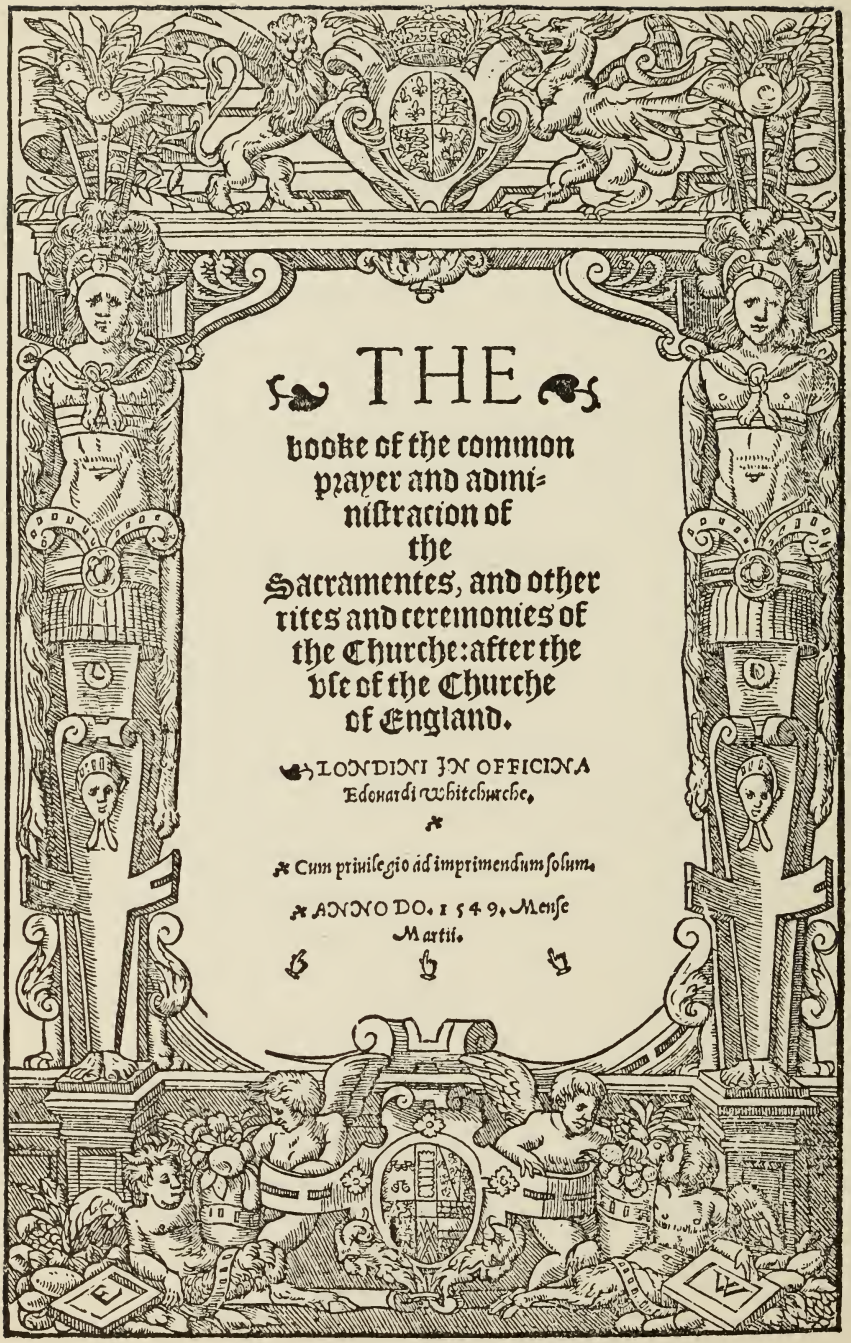
	Page
The First Book of Common Prayer *By Zoltán Haraszti*	93
Goethe Bicentenary *By Margaret Munsterberg*	112
Ishmael Melvill *By Jay Leyda*	119
William Dean Howells and Thomas Sergeant Perry *By Virginia Harlow*	135
Poe Centenary	151
The Correspondence of R. W. Griswold	156
French Prints *By Arthur W. Heintzelman*	166
Notes on Rare Books:	
First Editions of Byron — *by Elaine Kimmelman*	169
Bloody Newes from Dover — *by Theresa Coolidge*	172
The Chronicle of King Alfonso XI — *By Genevieve Gushee*	173
Doni's *Mondi* and *Inferni* — *by Jane Lacy*	174
Illustrations and Facsimiles	

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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

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THE

booke of the common prayer and administracion of the Sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies of the Churche: after the vse of the Churche of England.

LONDINI IN OFFICINA Edouardi Whitchurche.

Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

ANNO DO. 1549. Mense Martii.

THE
Boston Public Library
QUARTERLY

OCTOBER 1949

The First Book of Common Prayer

By ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

IT was on January 22, 1549 — four hundred years ago — that the first English Book of Common Prayer was ratified by Parliament. An Act of Uniformity was passed, the Lords spiritual and temporal as well as the Commons humbly praying that the use of the new book be ordained and enacted by his Majesty throughout the Realm "from and after the feast of Pentecoste next comynge." The work was accomplished, so the Act stated, "by the ayde of the Holie Ghooste" and "with one uniforme agrement."[1] Be this as it may, the event was certainly the crowning point of the English Reformation. "From whatever point of view the new liturgy be regarded," Cardinal Gasquet wrote, "it is without doubt one of the most momentous documents connected with the ecclesiastical history of England."[2]

In commemoration of the anniversary, an exhibit has been arranged in the Treasure Room. The Boston Public Library owns one of the richest existing collections of the Book of Common Prayer. Received in 1919 as a bequest of the late Josiah H. Benton and augmented since from the trust fund established by him, the collection comprises over eight hundred volumes. It includes first-edition copies of the first Prayer Book of 1549, Edward's second Prayer Book of 1552, and those of Queen Elizabeth of 1559, King James's of 1604, and no less than five copies of the final revision of 1662, besides scores of other editions. It

has some of the rarest English Primers, the Scottish Liturgy of 1637, and the first Prayer Book of the Church of Ireland of 1721. Translations into nearly a hundred languages, ranging from Greek and Latin to Turkish, Yiddish, Sanskrit, Eskimo, and the dialects of the remotest African, Australian, and Polynesian tribes, are one of the salient features of the collection.[3] The American section is equally complete. It boasts of such extreme rarities as the first American edition of 1710, the Mohawk Prayer Book of 1715, Benjamin Franklin's Abridgement of 1773, and the Liturgy of the First Episcopal Church in Boston, 1785. Naturally, it has the "Proposed Book" of 1786, and the first standard edition of 1790, and all the later revisions. The exhibit in the Treasure Room had to be limited to a hundred items — to the choicest volumes of the magnificent collection.

The origin, substance, and transformation of the Book of Common Prayer is a complicated subject, involving innumerable political, theological, and liturgical considerations. The interest lies in the detail; and thus a full discussion of the first Prayer Book alone, or even of some of the collects, would require a lengthy study. These notes (by a librarian who does not pretend to expert knowledge) can hardly attempt more than to furnish a few historical and bibliographical data.

The Book of Common Prayer has an immense literature. For the research worker there are the great series of *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII,* and, of course, the *Statutes of the Realm;* the more than fifty publications of the Camden Society, *Wriothesley's Chronicle,* the *Narratives of the Reformation,* and the *Greyfriar's Chronicle* among them; the works of the Reformers themselves in the edition of the Parker Society; John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments;* the twenty-five volumes of the *Annals, Memorials,* and other works of John Strype; and Edward Cardwell's *Documentary Annals* and *History of Conferences.* As comprehensive surveys of the period, the six volumes of Canon Dixon's *History of the Church of England,* London 1878-98, and the four volumes of James Gairdner's *Lollardy and the Reformation in England,* London 1908-13, are justly famous. Alexander Savine's *English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution,* Oxford 1909, affords a real insight into the economic changes wrought by the Reformation.

The comparative study of the sources and revisions of the Book of Common Prayer began early. Hamon l'Estrange's *The Alliance of Divine Service,* published in 1659, was the first such work. It was only in 1842 that it was superseded by William Keeling's *Liturgiae Britannicae.* Francis Procter's *History of the Book of Common Prayer,* first issued in 1855 and reprinted more than twenty times, is perhaps the most concise synoptic account. Valuable is Thomas Lathbury's work, of the same title, published in 1858. James Parker's two volumes, *The History of the Successive Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer,* 1877, and *The First Prayer-Book of Edward VI,* 1883, were indispensable until the appearance of F. E. Brightman's *The English Rite,* 1915, a work of eminent scholarship, with notes which are admirably lucid in spite of the great mass of material compressed into them.

The books dealing with specific problems of the Prayer Book would make a long list. Only a few will be mentioned here. The three volumes of William Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae,* 1846-7, offer an authoritative analysis of the pre-Reformation service-books. Emil Ludwig Richter's *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des Sechszehnten Jahrhunderts,* first published in 1846, has been especially fruitful for the investigation of foreign influences; however, Emil Sehling's work, of the same title, printed in five volumes in 1902-13, is far more extensive. A significant contribution was *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer,* 1890, by Gasquet and Bishop, presenting for the first time Cranmer's two earlier liturgical projects, the manuscripts of which had just then been discovered in the British Museum. Bishop Dowden's *The Workmanship of the Prayer Book,* 1899, and *Further Studies in the Prayer Book,* 1908, are graceful essays by an excellent scholar who is also a good writer. A. F. Pollard's *Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation,* 1904, and C. H. Smyth's *Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI,* 1926, are among the best one-volume monographs.

Naturally, there have been many popular presentations and outline-histories. Of the latter, Josiah H. Benton's *The Book of Common Prayer, its Origin and Growth,* Boston 1910, deserves attention for its judicious selection of facts, and for revealing the author's chief interests in forming his great collection.

Apart from its comprehensiveness, the Benton Collection is

remarkable for the condition of its volumes. Most of the items are in original bindings. Old limp vellum, fish-skin, and oak-boards with metal clasps alternate with richly ornamented brown, red, and blue morocco. The great names in the history of English binding — Samuel Mearne, Roger Payne, Charles Lewis, Francis Bedford, and others — are well represented. The provenance of the books, too, should delight the bibliophile. Many volumes have three or four book-plates, besides autograph signatures of former owners. Some of these — like Archbishop Juxon, and Bishops Wren, Vaughan, and Crewe — have played leading parts in the history of the Prayer Book. Several volumes are embellished with royal monograms, while others belonged to simple parish churches. A handsome copy of the 1660 folio edition, published after the Restoration but before the final revision, Mr. Benton received as a gift from Kenneth F. Gibbs, Vicar of Aldenham and Canon of St. Albans, himself a collector of prayer-books. The fly-leaf bears the inscription, "To Mr. J. H. Benton, from a brother maniac."

THE Book of Common Prayer comprises several of the old service-books. The tables for the psalms and lessons and the order for matins and evensong correspond to the Breviary; the Lord's Supper and Holy Communion took the place of the Missal; the offices of baptism, matrimony, the visitation of the sick, the burial service, and the purification of women stand for the Manual; and finally the office of confirmation represents the Pontifical. "By this ordre," Cranmer wrote in the Preface, "the curates shal nede none other bookes for their publique service, but this boke and the Bible; by the meanes wherof, the people shall not be at so great charge for bookes, as in tyme past they have been."

One also has to realize that the offices of the Book of Common Prayer are structurally similar to those of the Roman rite, and that most of their component parts were derived from the Roman offices. The first Act of Uniformity emphasized that the purpose of the work was to present "a vnyforme qvyett and godlie order" — one for "the Use of the Churche of Englande" — in place of the diuerse formes of comen prayer . . . that is to

saye, the vse of Sarum, of Yorke, of Bangor, and of Lyncolne." When after the adoption of the Prayer Book bloody riots broke out in the country, King Edward, with somewhat free generalization, wrote to the rebels: "Perchance it seemeth to you a new service, and indeed is none other but the old; the self same words in English, which were in Latine, saving a few things taken out"[5]

Some of the most conspicuous innovations of the Book of Common Prayer were the reduction of the eight canonical hours to a morning and evening service; the abolition of anthems and responds; the redistribution of the psalms throughout each month; and the inclusion of the whole Bible, "or the greatest part thereof," in the lessons. In all these, the work follows the reforms effected in the Roman Church itself. In 1535 Cardinal Francisco de Quinones, General of the Franciscans, had published his *Breviarium Romanum Nuper Reformatum*. Commissioned by Pope Clement VII, and dedicated to his successor Paul III, the Reformed Breviary became extremely popular. Within a year it was reprinted six times and, in a revised form and with a new preface, more than a hundred times during the next thirty years; then with the promulgation of the Tridentine Breviary, its use was abolished by Pius V. How deep an impression Quignon's Breviary made upon Cranmer may be seen in his draft for a Latin Breviary which he produced during Henry's last years.[6] The Spaniard's influence was greatly lessened in the Prayer Book of 1549, for after Edward's ascension the Archbishop returned to his earlier interest, the Lutheran church orders. However, the forms of the morning and evening services remained. Several passages of the Preface were close adaptations from Quignon's first preface. For instance:

> Notwithstandying that the auncient fathers had deuided the psalmes into seuen porcions: whereof euery one was called a nocturne: now of late tyme a fewe of them haue been dailye sayed (and ofte repeated) and the rest vtterly omitted. Moreouer, the nombre and hardnes of the rules called the pie, and the manifolde chaunginges of the seruice, was the cause, that to turne the boke onlye, was so hard and intricate a matter, that many times, there was more business to fynd out what should be read, than to read it when it was founde out.[7]

Or the following about the reading of the Bible:

> Here you haue an ordre for praier (as touchyng the readyng of holy scripture) muche agreable to the mynde and purpose of the olde fathers, and a greate deale more profitable and commodious, then that whiche of late was vsed. It is more profitable, because here are left out many thynges, whereof some be vntrue, some vncertain, some vaine and supersticious; and is ordeyned nothyng to be read, but the very pure worde of God, the holy scriptures, or that whiche is euidently grounded vpon the same.[8]

(The Library has the 1546 Lyon edition of Quignon's Breviary.)

ANOTHER striking innovation of the Book of Common Prayer was the exclusive use of English. Its opponents made much of this: the restoration of Latin in the service was one of the chief demands of the rebels. "We meant godly," the King further wrote to them in his Message, "that you our subjects should understand in English, beeing our naturall countrey tongue, that which heretofore spoken in Latine, then serving onely for them which understood Latine, and now for all you which be born English. How can this with reason offend any reasonable man, that he shall understand what any other saith, and to consent with the speaker? If the service in the Church was good in Latine, it remaineth good in English; for nothing is altered, but to speake with knowledge that which was spoken with ignorance . . . So that whosoever hath moved you to dislike this order, can give you no reason, nor answer yours, if ye understood it."[9]

The use of English was, in fact, not as unexpected as it would seem from the reaction which it provoked. The prayer-books of the common people, called primers or prymers, usually bound up with the psalters, had been composed with increasing frequency in the vernacular ever since the fourteenth century[10] — a phenomenon which was by no means peculiar to England. Many such prayer-books were printed during the reign of Henry VIII: first in Latin with occasional collects in English, then in English and Latin, and finally entirely in English.[11] Most of them were after the use of Salisbury. In 1534 appeared the first reformed primer, brought out by William Marshall, which omitted the Litany with its invocation to the Virgin, substituting a "Salutation of our Blessed Lady" instead. Convocation

censured the book, whereupon the next edition restored the Litany but attacked certain Roman practices even more violently and spoke now of "the Holy Church of England." This book, Lathbury thought, "was probably more instrumental in furthering the Reformation among the people than even the two Bibles then in circulation."[12] Five years later *The Manuall of Prayer* was prepared by John Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, throughout in English, except for the titles of the psalms. The Prologue reproves the Sarum primers, because in them many scriptures "were dystorted unto oure Lady, whyche in theyr owne natyue sence are nothynge mente of her, but of Christ." Some of the psalms, anthems, and lessons were replaced by others, but on the whole the book was more tolerant than the Marshall primer. This and all the other earlier prayer-books were replaced, and repudiated, in 1545 by *The Primer, in Englishe and Latyn, set foorth by the Kynges maiestie and his Clergie,* known as the *King's Primer.* In matters of dogma the work strictly conforms to Henry's Catholicism.

There was also another book in English relating to liturgy — *The Institution of a Christen Man,* issued by the bishops in 1537. It contains the Ten Articles formulated the year before, as also the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, and an article each on Justification and Purgatory. Corrected in accordance with the Six Articles of 1539, the work appeared in 1543 as *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christen Man.* Henry himself took part in the revision, and some of his notes still exist. The earlier work is called the "Bishops' Book" and the later, the "King's Book." In May 1544 was first printed, together with "An Exhortacion unto prayer," Cranmer's Litany, "one of the noblest works in the whole range of liturgical literature" and "the most exquisite of English compositions."[13] Occasioned by the war with Scotland and France, it was later inserted into the *King's Primer.*[14]

The use of English in church was rapidly extended after Henry's death. In August 1547 a series of royal *Iniunccions* were published ordering that the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments be recited in the native tongue "to the intent the people maye learne the same by harte." Every Sunday and holy day a chapter of the New Testament was to be read at

Matins and a chapter of the Old Testament at Evensong, both in English. The Epistle and Gospel of the Mass, as well as the Litany, were similarly prescribed in English. This book is equally memorable for its anxiety to suppress "Idolatrye and Supersticion." Deans, arch-deacons, and parsons were once more instructed to "furthewith take doune, or cause to be taken doune, and destroye" all such images as they knew "to bee, or have been abused with pilgrimage or any offeringes." Much of what had remained of the statues, paintings, stained glass windows, and other art treasures of the churches was soon demolished.

While these changes in liturgy went on, the first complete English translation of the Bible, made by Miles Coverdale, was published in Switzerland. Coverdale's Bible, though it circulated freely, was never recognized; the translation which received this distinction — "set forth by the Kinges most gracyous lycence" — was Matthew's Bible of 1537. However, it was the Great Bible, a revision of the text of Matthew's by Coverdale, which became the first authorized version. In November 1539 Henry VIII entrusted Cromwell to take care that no other Bible should be printed within five years. A copy was to be set up in every church where the parishioners "may most commodiouslye resort to the same, and rede yt." The first issue appeared in April 1539, and six others followed within two years.

The pre-Reformation service-books are extremely rare — the *King's Primer* prohibited their use in 1545, and a year after the publication of the Book of Common Prayer a statute ordered that "all Bookes called Antyphones Mysalls Scrayles Processionalles Manualles Legends Pyes Portuyses Prymers in Lattyn or Inglishe . . . shalbe clerely and utterlye abollished extinguished and forbidden for ever to be used or kepte . . ."[15]

(The Library has about a dozen of these precious items. The earliest is a *Hore Beatissime Virginis Mariae* according to the Salisbury use, printed by François Regnault in Paris in 1526. It is a beautiful folio of 224 leaves, each page surrounded by a woodcut border made up of scenes from the Bible, the Dance of Death, and various grotesque figures; the title-page shows the funeral of the Virgin, and there are twenty other full-page woodcuts, besides numerous historiated initials.[16] Next should be mentioned the *Prymer off Salysburye Vse* printed by Thielman

Kerver in Paris in 1533, "att the expenses off Iohan growte boke-seller yn london dwellyng wythyn the blak freers next the churche doore."[17] This is a small book of nearly three hundred leaves. The twelve oval woodcuts of the Calendar, representing the successive stages of human life, are probably by Geoffrey Tory, as they are signed by his mark, the Lorraine cross. The volume starts with "The dayes of the weke moralysed" in verse, followed by a treatise on "helthfull lyuyng," translated from the French by Robert Copland. The title-page calls attention to the fact that the XV Oes are "yn ynghlysh."[18]

(But even more valuable is a copy of the first edition of the *Marshall Primer,* printed by William Byddell in London, "next to Flete Brydge at the signe of our Lady of pytye." The title-page is lacking, but otherwise the book is complete.[19] Bound with it is *An Exposition upon the LI psalme called Miserere mei Deus.* The volume is in its original binding, wooden boards covered with green velvet. On the last fly-leaf there is the inscription: "The seventh daye of Septembre was the lady Elizabeth daughter to Kinge Henry borne at Greenwiche and christened at the frere churche the X daye of Septembre . . ." It must have been jotted down in early 1534, a few months after Elizabeth's birth — that is why the year is not given. The writer speaks merely of "Septembre," meaning *last* September. Incidentally, the note may prove that the primer was really printed in 1534, a date which has been regarded as conjectural. On the inside front cover a certain Robert Ashton, probably a subject of Queen Elizabeth, perpetuated his name as "the right owner of this Booke," praying that "God give him grace and heaven may bee his resting place."

(The 1538 *Prymer in Englysshe,* "imprynted at Rowen" by Nicholas le Roux for Regnault, is again after the use of Sarum.[20] The woodcuts of the Calendar were borrowed from the 1533 Sarum primer. Our copy of the *Hilsey Primer* is large, but the title-page is in facsimile.[21] The last leaf has a late-contemporary note: "In K. Henry the 8th time aboute the 31e yeare of his Raigne this Booke was printed." The 1542 *Prymer in Englyshe,* with the Latin text in small type, was published by Robert Toye. The Epistles and Gospels, with a separate title-page, are only in English.[22] The Library has a beautiful copy of the *King's Primer.*

The volume was produced by Richard Grafton, the last page bearing his mark, a tree growing through a barrel.[23]

(The Library has also *The Institution of a Christen Man,* with the Latin translation of 1544, and *A Necessary Doctrine,* all three printed by Thomas Berthelet,[24] as well as the *Iniunccions,* issued by Grafton.[25] The Library's collection of early English Bibles was described in the December 1936 and January 1937 issues of *More Books;* since then we have acquired a fragment of the first edition of Coverdale's Bible and a superb copy of the very rare first issue of the Great Bible.)

THE origins of the English Reformation go back to the fourteenth century: its chief inspiration was derived from Wycliffe rather than Luther. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that the most immediate influence upon the Book of Common Prayer was that of the new German service-books.[26]

Having prescribed the ritual for his followers in a series of booklets — the *Von Ordenung gottis diensts ynn der gemeyne, Taufbüchlein, Formula missae et communionis, Deutche Messe,* etc. — Luther was tolerant in matters of ceremonies. He did not demand uniformity.[27] In consequence, a multitude of *Kirchenordnungen* sprang up in the various Protestant communities.[28] They were known to the English Reformers, many of whom were in personal contact with the German divines. On his mission as Ambassador to the Emperor, in 1531 and 1532, Cranmer became a friend of Andreas Osiander, pastor at Nuremberg, whose niece he married before he left the city. They must have discussed the *Kirchenordnung* on which Osiander was already working and which was to appear in 1533. And Cranmer certainly knew Johannes Bugenhagen's *Pia et Catholica . . . Ordinatio,* the 1537 edition of which the author sent with a dedication to Henry VIII. In May 1538 a German delegation, headed by Chancellor Burckhardt of Saxony, arrived in London to conclude a concordat with England on the basis of the Augsburg Confession. Cranmer, who favored the plan, prepared a draft for a new liturgy — patterned largely upon Bugenhagen's work.[29]

The negotiation fell through and, instead of becoming a Lutheran, Henry insisted more on his Catholicism. After his loathed

marriage to Anne of Cleves, he lost his taste for the alliance with the Protestant Princes as well. England, Luther complained, had taken away the Pope's name and property but was strengthening "his doctrine and abominations."[30] The Six Articles Act represented a sharp reversal, indeed, in the English Reformation. Those questioning the dogma of transubstantiation were declared "heretics" to be burned at the stake, and those who gainsaid the other articles were to be executed, only a little more mildly, as "felons." That the Six Articles followed closely upon the Act for the Dissolution of the Greater Monasteries merely showed Henry's love of paradox.

With the King's death, however, the way for the Reformation was open again. The Six Articles and the statute prohibiting the printing of books on religious matters were repealed as "utterlie voyde and of none effecte." The country was flooded at once with translations of Lutheran and Zwinglian tracts, and with even more numerous native publications, all attacking the Mass in the most abusive language.[31] Cranmer, whose first liturgical project was shelved during the Catholic reaction,[32] and who prepared then a conservative Latin liturgy based upon Quignon's Breviary, chose now for model the church order of Cologne, recently introduced by Archbishop Hermann von Wied. This *Kirchenordnung,* compiled by Bucer and Melanchthon, appeared in 1543 under the title *Einfaltigs Bedencken,* and two years later in Latin as *Simplex ac Pia Deliberatio.* In 1547 an anonymous English translation, *A Simple and Religious Consultation,* was published in London — certainly not against the wishes of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

On December 20, 1547, Parliament passed an Act "against suche as shall unreverentlie speake against the Sacrament of the bodie and bloode of Christe commonlie called the Sacrament of the Altar."[33] But the government could not check the trend, even if it intended to. And then on March 15, 1548 (with the date of March 8), *The Order of the Communion* was issued, based in part upon Lutheran doctrine.[34]

The English Communion was to be a part of the Mass, which was still said in Latin as far as the Priest's reception of the Sacrament and again after the people had communicated. The great departure from the Sarum missal occured in the Administration

of the Lord's Supper, where the Order substituted these words:

> The bodye of oure Lorde Jesus Christ, which was geuen for the, preserue thy body unto euerlastyng life.
>
> The blud of oure Lorde Jesus Christ, which was shed for the, preserue thy soul unto euerlastyng life.

They were mainly taken from the *Kirchenordnungen* which contained, with minor variations, this formula:

> Nyme hyn und iss. Das ist der leyb Christi der für dich geben ist.
>
> Nyme hyn und trinck. Das ist das blut des newen Testaments, das für dein sünde vergossen ist.[35]

The *Order of the Communion,* according to the accompanying Royal proclamation, was meant to be temporary. Its use was enjoined "that we may be encouraged from time to tyme, further to trauell for the reformation and setting furthe of such godly orders, as may bee moste to godes glory, the edifiyng of our subiectes and for the aduancemente, of true religion." To be sure, the commission entrusted with the composition of a uniform service was soon holding its meetings at Windsor and, in September and October, at Chertsey Abbey. By November the Prayer Book was completed. With the exception of George Day of Chichester, all the bishops subscribed to it; but it is doubtful that this happened in formal Convocation.[36]

The prelates' attitude was clearly revealed in the extremely interesting debate held in the Upper House on December 14 to 18, before a crowd that jammed the galleries.[37] The main discussion, naturally, turned upon the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Both sides agreed that the dispute involved three issues — the real presence; whether evil man received the body or not; and the transubstantiation. At the outset, Bishop Thirlby of Westminster created a great commotion by advising the audience that "touching the doctrine of the Supper, the book was not agreed on among the Bishops, but only in disputation."[38] The Earl of Warwick branded his statement as "perilous" and "worthy of displeasure"; and the Duke of Somerset pointedly reminded him that "the Bishops' consultation was appointed for unity" and that "the book of their agreements was read." Thirlby, however, insisted that, although he had subscribed to the work, he never consented to the leaving out of the "adoration," and

that the diversity of opinions "for the verity of the body and blood" made it necessary to speak plainly.[39] Bonner, Bishop of London, called the doctrine of the proposed book "a heresy," because in the delivery of the Sacrament the expression "bread" was used. The Catholic Bishops were answered by Ridley of Rochester and Holbeach of Lincoln; but it was Cranmer who summed up the Reformists' views: "Our faith," he declared, "is not to believe Him to be in bread and wine, but that He is in heaven"; and again, "I believe that Christ is eaten with heart; the eating with mouth cannot give us life, for then a sinner should have life."[40]

At the end, ten bishops voted for the Prayer Book and eight against it; or, counting those who were represented by proxy, thirteen were for it and ten against it, while four remained equivocal. As to the lay peers, with three exceptions all were in favor of adoption.

THE differences between "the Supper of the Lorde, and the holy Communion, commonly called the Masse" and the Latin Missal are far-reaching, as regards both ritual and dogma.

The celebration of the Mass is a great drama, every movement of which is performed according to strict rules. In contrast, the ceremonial of the Book of Common Prayer is reduced to a minimum. "The priest stretching out and folding his hands, raising his eyes to heaven, and then casting them down, bowing profoundly before the altar, with his hand placed over it, says . . . ," the Canon of the Missal begins. And after the invocation follow more instructions: "The altar is kissed," "he folds his hands, then signs thrice over the offerings," "with hands stretched forth, he continues" — all these occur in the first short prayer. There is nothing of the kind in the Prayer Book. Only on the last page, among "Certayne Notes for the more playne explicacion and decent ministracion of thinges," appears the remark: "As touching kneeling, crossing, holding vp of handes, knocking vpon the brest, and other gestures: they may be vsed or left as euery mans deuocion serueth without blame."

The Book of Common Prayer, the avowed purpose of which was the establishment of a uniform service, thus left the con-

tinuance of the larger part of the ceremonial to individual choice. In the same spirit, the use of private confession was made optional. The exhortation "Dere frendes, and you especially . . ." invites those "whose conscience is troubled and greued in any thing, lackyng comforte or counsaill" to go to the priest and confess their sins secretly, requesting others not to be offended; and, conversely, it begs those who need auricular confession not to be offended by those who are satisfied "with their humble confession to God, and the generall confession to the churche."

The vesture was not prescribed rigidly either. The fourth rubric, at the beginning, requires that the priest "put vpon hym . . . a white Albe plain, with a vestement or Cope." But while the cope was not a specific sacerdotal garment, the "vestement" probably meant a chasuble.[41]

There are, however, two rubrics in the Prayer Book which are very definite, both intending to reverse the usages of the Missal. The first is the instruction to the priest to "saye or syng, playnly and distinctly," the Prayer of Consecration, while the Missal demands that the words be uttered "secretely." The second is the prohibition of the elevation of the Host or showing it to the people. This was the leaving out of the "adoration" of which Bishop Thirlby complained. There is no direction to break the bread, only the marginal rubric: "Here the prieste must take the bread into his handes." The signing of the cross twice during the words of Institution was the only ceremony enjoined.

The rite of the "commixture," which follows the *Pax Domini,* is omitted altogether from the Prayer Book. It was at this point that the Order for the Communion, beginning with "You that do truly and earnestly repent . . . ," was incorporated into the new service. A few alterations were made, however: in the form of absolution the reference to the power of the Church was left out for a more general promise of forgiveness; and in the words of the Administration "bodye and soule" were inserted in both kinds of communion in place of the separately used "bodye" and "soule." Gasquet and Bishop also speak of a change in the last rubric for the communion, "substituting 'the Sacrament of the body' and 'the Sacrament of the blood' for 'the bread' and 'the wine'" as "a result of Bonner's protest against heresy."[42] This, how-

ever, is a mistake on the part of the eminent authors. The Order of the Communion *had* the expressions "the Sacrament of the body of Christe" and "the Sacrament of the blud."[43] Bonner, therefore, did not bring about a change; his protest *foiled* the change which the Reformers *contemplated* in trying to introduce the words "the bread" and "the wine" into the rubric of the new Prayer Book.

The doctrinal differences are far more difficult to define. They may best be seen by comparing the two Prayers of Consecration. However, interpretations of the differences will vary — as they did four hundred years ago.

Gasquet and Bishop, representing the Catholic point of view, maintain that "the ancient ritual oblation, with the whole of which the idea of sacrifice was so intimately associated, was swept away." The "sacrifice of praise," according to them, means something quite different in the Prayer Book than it does in the Missal.[44] One may also quote here the summary of Canon Dixon, a dignitary of the Church of England:

"The doctrine of the Presence, though maintained, had a different exhibition in the very prayer in which the Presence was invoked. In the old prayer of consecration there was nothing that answered to the declaration, which the new form contained, that the sacrifice upon the Cross was 'a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world': and that the celebration was a 'commemoration,' and a 'perpetual memory' of the Saviour's death. The Elements were also called for the first time, at the moment of consecration, 'creatures of bread and wine,' as if to exclude the notion of physical alteration: the old words 'that they might be made' were limited to 'that they might be' the Body and Blood of Christ: and it was prayed that this might be by the operation of the Holy Spirit and Word . . ."[45]

The first edition of the Book of Common Prayer was published by Edward Whitchurche in London. It bears the date "Anno Do. 1549. Mense Martii" on the title-page, the colophon further stating that it was printed "the seventh daye of Marche, the yeare of our Lorde, 1549." Whitchurche issued two more editions, with the dates of May and June. Simultaneously Richard Grafton, too, published three editions: the first has March

in the title and March 8 in the colophon; the second has March in the title and June in the colophon; and the third has June in both the title and the colophon. John Oswen printed two editions at Worcester, with the dates of May and July 1549.

(The Library has a beautiful copy of the first edition by Whitchurche. A note on the inside cover states: "This Book belonged to Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham in time of Charles II, and descended to Lord Alvanley. At his death his library was sold and I bought this volume. Wm Gott." William Gott was the father of John Gott (1830-1906), Bishop of Truro; and the former owner mentioned was undoubtedly the third Lord Alvanley, who died in 1857 and whose library was sold the following year. The fly-leaf has another note, in the hand of Bishop Crewe: "This is so great a Curiosity I apprehend the value of it to be at least Ten Guineas." The copy should be worth today fifty times that sum . . . Canon Gibbs prepared a minute description of the volume for Bishop Gott, which is tipped on the fly-leaf.[46] We have also a beautiful copy of the second issue produced by Grafton. "Solus Deus Ptector Meus," an old inscription on the title-page reads. The volume contains the book-plate of John F. W. Bullock, rector of Radwinter, in Essex, in the early nineteenth century. And finally the Library has a copy of the first edition of the Brandenburg-Nuremberg *Kirchenordnung* of 1533. "Editio rarissima," a note under the title rightly states.)

Copies of the successive revisions of the Prayer Book will be described in two later articles; and a fourth article will be devoted to the Book of Comman Prayer in America.

Notes

1. *The Statutes of the Realm,* IV, 37.
2. *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer.* London 1891, sec. ed., 182.
3. William Muss–Arnolt's valuable study *The Book of Common Prayer among the Nations of the World,* London 1914, is based mainly on the Benton Collection. At the time of his writing Dr. Muss–Arnolt was a member of the Catalogue Department of the Boston Public Library.
4. *The Statutes of the Realm, ibid.*

5. Foxe, *Acts and Monuments,* London 1641, II, 667. (Quoted by Procter, *A History of the Common Prayer,* 1880 ed., 29n.)

6. Cranmer's manuscript was first printed by Gasquet and Bishop, *op. cit.,* 315–52. Their numerous notes show how far the Archbishop was indebted to Quignon, how far to Sarum, and how far his work appears to be original. The authors find "unmistakable and repeated instances of the way in which Cranmer's scheme of office, both in its general order and in detail, was inspired by Quignon's Roman breviary." They believe that the projected breviary may be described as Sarum material worked up under Quignon's influence. "The choice of Quignon's work as a model," they comment, "has an aspect almost eirenical. At the time it must have seemed more than probable that the Quignon breviary would before very long become the recognized office book of the Roman church . . . to take the Quignon text therefore showed some disposition . . . to keep the points of contact with the Western church as far as possible." (*Op. cit.,* 17, 24, 28.)

The draft was reprinted, with fresh notes and a close paleographical study, by J. Wickham Legg as Part II in his *Cranmer's Liturgical Projects,* published by the Henry Bradshaw Society, London 1915, 115–97, 220–30.

7. With first editions before him, the writer cannot resist the temptation to use the original spelling and punctuation.

8. Quignon's main concern was, as Gasquet and Bishop emphasize, "to secure in practice the regular reading of the Scriptures." (*Op. cit.,* 22.)

9. Foxe, *op. cit., ibid.*

10. Henry Littlehales, *The Prymer,* London 1891–2.

11. Edgar Hoskins, *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis . . . and Primers of the Reformed Roman Use,* London 1901.

12. Thomas Lathbury, *A History of the Book of Common Prayer,* Oxford 1858, 5.

13. John Dowden, *The Workmanship of the Prayer Book,* London 1899, 152; James Gairdner, *The English Church in the Sixteenth Century,* London 1902, 230.

14. Gasquet and Bishop believe that the influence of the primers has been overrated. In keeping with their thesis that the Reformation was imposed by the government, they write: "Glancing at the state of affairs at the moment of Henry's death, it may be said that the system of public worship, which existed throughout the middle ages in England, remained intact and in full force . . ." (*Op cit.,* 4.)

15. *The Statutes of the Realm,* IV, 110.

16. Hoskins, no. 71. The Library owns also a copy of the 1535 edition (Hoskins, no. 116). The borders in that edition occur only on pages with large woodcuts, and therefore the lines are longer. The types and most of the woodcuts are those of the earlier edition.

17. Hoskins, no. 104. There are copies also in the British Museum and at Lincoln Cathedral; however, only the Library's copy seems to be perfect. It bears the book-plate of John S. Parkington, Baron Hampton (1799–1880), who served as Secretary for War and the Colonies and as First Lord of the Admiralty in the administrations of Lord Derby.

18. These are the fifteen meditations on Christ's Passion, each beginning "O Jesu," "O blessed Jesu," etc. The *Hilsey Primer* retained them as "right, good, and virtuous, if they be said without . . . superstitious trust or blind confidence." The *King's Primer* omitted them.

19. Hoskins, no. 115. The only other recorded copy, the one in the Bodleian Library, is also imperfect.

20. Hoskins, no. 135.

21. Hoskins, no. 143. Second issue, with the colophon: "Imprynted in botoll lane, at the sygne of the whyte beare by me Jhon Mayler for Jhon Waylande, and be to sell in powles church-yarde, by Andrewe Hester at the whyt horse, and also by Mychel Lobley, at the sygne of saynt Mychell. Cum privilegio and imprimendum solum, 1539."

22. Hoskins, no. 168.

23. Hoskins, no. 179. Both the title-page and the colophon give the date as "the VI daye of Septembre." There had been earlier issues with the dates of May 29, June 19, and June 20.

24. *Short-Title Catalogue* 5164, 5178, and 5169.

25. Apparently not listed in the *S.T.C.*

26. "Cranmer and Germany" in John Dowden, *Further Studies in the Prayer Book,* London 1908, 44–71.

27. In 1545 Luther wrote to the Prince of Anhalt: "I cannot recommend the plan of a uniformity of ceremonies in every place." (F. E. Brightman, *op. cit.,* xxxvii.)

28. Brightman (*op. cit.,* xxx–xlix) discusses several of them. For a full study, however, Richter's or Sehling's collections are indispensable.

29. Gasquet and Bishop described this draft as "Cranmer's second project," assigning to it "an early period in the reign of Edward VI." (*Op. cit.,* 39.) It should be noted, however, that the draft occupies the first portion of the manuscript codex preserved in the British Museum. Accordingly, J. Wickham Legg prints it in his *Cranmer's Liturgical Projects* (3–112, 201–12) as Part 1. "Of the *Kirchenordnungen* that I have come across . . .," he writes, "the outline of Bugenhagen, it must be confessed, seems to me that which is nearest allied to the project of Canmer." (*Op. cit.,* xli.) Following up Dr. Legg's findings, C. A. Smyth, in his *Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI,* London 1926, makes out a convincing case, listing several important natural and external evidences, that the draft which Gasquet and Bishop considered as the second of Cranmer's two projects was really the first — and that it was composed between 1537 and 1539. (*Op. cit.,* 74–77.)

30. Quoted by A. F. Pollard in *Thomas Cranmer,* London 1904, 127.

31. Gasquet and Bishop, *op. cit.,* 118–33; A. F. Pollard, *op. cit.,* 208–12.

32. This assumes the correctness of Smyth's theory, mentioned in Note 29.

33. *The Statutes of the Realm,* IV, 2–3.

34. The parallels to the German sources (as well as the contrasts between them) are shown by Brightman, *op. cit.,* lxxiii–lxxvi.

35. The expression ". . . unto euerlastyng life" came from the Sarum form of the Administration for the Sick: ". . . in vitam eternam." (Brightman, *op. cit.,* lxxv.)

36. Gasquet and Bishop insist that "the book was never submitted to Convocation at all." (*Op. cit.,* 148–56.) However, they objectively quote the contemporary evidences which may prove the synodical assent. (The records of the Convocation of Canterbury were burnt in the great fire of London.)

37. A report drawn up partly from the papers of the participants and partly from notes taken during the sessions has been preserved in the British Museum. Gasquet and Bishop printed it for the first time (*op. cit.,* 395–443).

38. Gasquet and Bishop, *op. cit.*, 403. 39. *Op. cit.*, 405.
40. *Op. cit.*, 401, 418. 41. Gasquet and Bishop. *op. cit.*, 190.
42. *Op. cit.*, 214.
43. *The Order of the Communion, 1548*, facsimile edition published by the Henry Bradshaw Society, London 1908.
44. Gasquet and Bishop, *op. cit.*, 196, 209.
45. R. W. Dixon, *History of the Church of England,* III, 32–3. One should note that the Prayer Book has "that they may be . . . ," and not "that they might be . . ." as the author quotes.

The rendering of the "fiat" of the Sarum Missal as "that they may be" (without the word "made") was bitterly attacked by Bishop Day of Chichester, who feared that the new version weakened the doctrine of the Real Presence. To point up the difference, Gasquet and Bishop refer to Cranmer's *Answer . . . to Stephen Gardiner,* Cambridge 1844, I, 271, 364–8. (*Op. cit.*, 205.) Brightman, on the other hand, observes that "from Cranmer's comments on the passage . . . it does not appear that this has any special significance." (*Op. cit.*, I, cvii.) One should like to call attention to another of Cranmer's statements which may have an important bearing on the question of "be" or "be made." "They [the papists] say," the Archbishop wrote, "that the body of Christ is every day many times made, as often as there be masses said, and that then and there he is made of bread and wine. We say, that Christ's body was never but once made, and then not of nature and substance of bread and wine, but of the substance of his blessed mother." (*Op. cit.*, 78.)

46. These are some of the "points" which Canon Gibbs, in a letter of June 1905, listed about the Library's copy:

"The Litany and Suffrages" is omitted from the "Contents of this Booke" printed on back of the title-page, but the Litany is inserted on a supplementary sheet in its proper place. In some copies in which there is this omission in the table of contents the Litany is inserted on a supplementary sheet at the end of the book.

In some copies the "Amen" (which is omitted after most of the Collects) is printed after the Collects for the 1st Sunday in Advent, the Collects to be used at Matins on Easter Day and at first Communion on Easter Day and on 2nd Sunday in Lent. In this copy it is printed only after the first two of the above mentioned Collects.

In the Collects for Easter Monday many copies have "By thy especiall grace" but this copy has "speciall."

This copy has the misprint "mynde" for "myndes" in the Exhortation in the Communion Service after the Creed (top line of fol. 123 verso).

In the 2nd Offertory sentence (fol. 125) this copy has "treasures in heaven" for "treasure in heaven."

Before the prayer which follows the laying on of hands in the Confirmation Service (fol. xii) the rubric "Then shall the Bishop say" is omitted in this copy.

In the last page of the Churching Service (fol. xxx verso) this copy has *O* Lorde heare our prayer; other copies omit the O.

In the Service for Ash Wednesday in the final prayer "Turn Thou us &c" (fol. xxxiv verso) this copy has "great pietie" for "great pity."

In the Nunc Dimittis "before the face of all *thy* people" for "all people"; and "of thy people *of* Israel" for "of thy people Israel."

Goethe Bicentenary

By MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

IN the present time of wide-spread disillusionment and disintegration, the sun-lit figure of Goethe appears as a positive force. To the victims of specialization he shows a baffling multiplicity of achievements ultimately harmonized: lyric poetry of the first order; drama ranging from operettas to *Faust*; novels of permanent power and beauty; art criticism and theory; science, including optics, mineralogy, and anatomy. And in addition he was a minister of state who attended conscientiously to his practical tasks, and served also as the director of the Weimar court theater. To the unending perplexity of his biographers, he was one of the world's great lovers.

In honor of the bicentenary of the great writer's birth, the Boston Public Library has arranged an exhibit of first editions of his works. Most of the items belong to the Sears-Freiligrath Collection, given to the Library ten years ago by Helen Sears Bradley; others were purchased from the income of the Benton Fund. The Library's Goetheana make a modest showing compared with such an array as that of the William A. Speck Collection at Yale University. But the volumes on display are representative of the high points of Goethe's creativity and stupendous range of interests.

The Library owns two separate copies of *Faust, Ein Fragment* of 1790, the first printed version of any part of the drama, as well as a third in volume 7 of *Goethe's Schriften,* published in the same year. All three copies have the distinguishing birth-mark of this edition — three lines, spoken by Faust, at the bottom of p. 144 are repeated. The title-page of one of the separate copies reads: "Faust. Ein Fragment. Von Goethe. Aechte Ausgabe. Leipzig, bey Georg Joachim Göschen, 1790." The title-page of the other separate copy is: "Faust. Ein Trauerspiel von Goethe. Leipzig, bey Georg Joachim Göschen, 1787" — the date being, in all probability, a misprint. The fragment owed its appearance largely to the necessity of filling the seventh volume of the poet's collected works; indeed, the second separate copy was made

up of the sheets of this volume. The final Part I of *Faust* was not completed until 1806 and published two years later.

It should be noted that the *Faust Fragment,* though the first printed version, does not represent the first manuscript. In 1887 Professor Erich Schmidt discovered among the papers delivered over by the grand-nephew of Luise von Göchhausen, a lady-in-waiting at the Weimar Court, a careful copy of Goethe's original version, generally known as the *Urfaust.* Work on this began about 1774 or even earlier.

In comparing the *Urfaust,* the *Fragment,* and the completed *Faust, Part I,* one notices a curious shifting about of scenes, as well as omissions and additions. The fundamental motif which links Part I and Part II into one great philosophical poem — the pact with the devil — is missing in the two earlier versions. The *Urfaust* and the *Fragment* begin with Faust's famous monologue of disgust with book learning. The scene in Auerbach's cellar, already in the rollicking verse retained in the final version, offers a marked contrast to the vulgar colloquial prose in which it appears in the *Urfaust.* While the *Urfaust* has, in stark prose, the grim end-scene of Gretchen in prison, the *Fragment* ends with the scene in church and Gretchen's fainting. Goethe wrote to Schiller in 1798 that in their "naturalness and strength" the prose scenes were quite unbearable, and in that year he rewrote the prison scene in verse.

A whole gamut of tones, from the frivolous and grotesque to the most profound, is struck in this poem of nearly a life-time. It is a well-known phenomenon that for the majority of *Faust* readers Part I is enough; one could hardly imagine a public which read only two acts of *Hamlet.* To be sure, Faust's symbolical adventures and the alien allegories of the classical Walpurgis Night in Part II would leave some cold and puzzle others. Yet Part II contains many exquisite lines and, moreever, holds the key to the meaning of the whole. A pact is made with Mephistopheles: if he can provide Faust with such satisfaction that he will say unto a moment "Oh, tarry thou, thou art so fair!" — then his hour may strike and the devil may take his soul. The crude adventures of the old puppet-plays and folk-books have been turned into the restless seeking of the "storm-and-stress" man; drink and low conviviality produce disgust,

and love ends in tragedy. Then in the second part come the hollow satisfactions of public life. Faust, with the necromantic help of Mephistopheles, restores the economic condition of the Empire through the invention of paper money. The union of the northern spirit with that of classical Greece, symbolized by the marriage of Faust and Helena, comes to nothing with the evaporation of the most beautiful woman. Victory in war brings Faust the Emperor's reward of a large domain of coast-land, which he ruthlessly enlarges. He has grown old, and he is blind. Nevertheless, he has a plan which he gives orders to have carried out: the building of dikes and the draining of land as a home for a free, happy, and courageous people. In the joy of anticipating the result, he calls to the moment: "Oh, tarry thou, thou art so fair!" and, according to the letter, the devil has won the pact. But the angels rescue Faust's soul from Mephistopheles, while Gretchen, one of the penitents in heaven, intercedes for him. He is saved — the mystical choir singing "The eternal feminine draws us on high."

What is the meaning of all this for modern man? It may well be that some would find the actual deed more worthy of securing salvation than the mental vision of achievement. It is clear, however, that Goethe closed his life-work with the solution that only constant striving and altruism can save the restless soul.

CONSIDERING the other first editions in the Library in chronological order, the first is *Goetz von Berlichingen mit der eisernen Hand* of 1773, without the author's name or the place of printing. This volume is not strictly a first edition, but a reprint issued within the first year of publication. The first edition, also anonymous, was financed by Goethe and his friend Heinrich Merck, and the later pirated edition caused the young dramatist financial embarassment. An *Urgoetz,* already completed in 1771, is also extant. *Goetz von Berlichingen,* like the *Urfaust,* originated in the period when Goethe was most ardently under the influence of Shakespeare. The result was his complete emancipation from the classic rule of the unities imposed by the French school. *Goetz,* a drama of sixteenth-century feuds and the Peasants' War, can be read with enjoyment today be-



Goethe's Portrait — a Lithograph by Delacroix
Frontispiece of French Translation of Faust, *Paris 1828*

cause of the manly, freedom-loving character of the hero who leads the oppressed in revolt and yet wants to remain a loyal patriot.

Die Leiden des jungen Werther is represented by two copies of the second issue of Leipzig, 1774 (which has a vignette in place of the errata list on the last page). This tale, which had its sources in Goethe's romantic attachment to Charlotte Buff and the suicide, because of hopeless love, of his friend Wilhelm Jerusalem, made Goethe suddenly world-famous. It was translated into numerous languages, including the Chinese. One may dismiss it as sentimental and outmoded; yet the charm of the work, its sincerity, and feeling for nature are still fresh. Next to Rousseau's *New Héloise,* probably *Werther* was the most influential piece of the new romantic literature.

The first edition of *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre* was published in four volumes by Johann Friedrich Unger in Berlin, 1795-96. The Library has the issue with the imprint "Frankfurt und Leipzig" in volume 4. A noteworthy feature is the inclusion of six folded plates with music to Goethe's songs, composed by J. F. Reichardt. These songs are beloved the world over, especially "Wer nie sein Brod in Thränen ass" (Who never ate his bread with tears) and Mignon's "Kennst du das Land" (Know'st thou the land), which have been sung by thousands who have forgotten or never knew that they originated in Goethe's work. Like the *Urfaust* and *Urgoetz,* an *Urmeister* — a copy of a first manuscript — was discovered in 1910 and published under the title *Wilhelm Meisters theatralische Sendung.* In its final form, this fascinating novel of a young idealist's education through life contains dramatic situations, mysteries, gaiety and tears, unique characters, and a generous dose of reflection, particularly on the theater.

A diminutive volume, in the original paper covers decorated with mythological figures, is the *Taschenbuch für 1798* — an almanach, published by Friedrich Vieweg in Berlin, which besides forecasts of eclipses, the calendar, and several sentimental engravings, contains Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea.* Like the *Luise* of Voss before it, and Longfellow's *Evangeline* after, this celebrated epic of village life is written in hexameters. Its source was a contemporary account of an episode in the forced emigra-

tion of Protestants from Salzburg in 1731. The heroic Dorothea is thus a classic "displaced person."

The rare first edition of *Die Wahlverwandtschaften,* published by Cotta at Tübingen in 1809, contains two volumes in one. The title, which Goethe drew from a Latin scientific treatise *De Attractionibus Electivis,* is an allusion to the attraction of chemical elements, which serves as a symbol for the ill-fated passions in this mellow and beautiful, but tragic novel. It was out of his love, at an advanced age, for Minna Herzlieb, the young ward of the bookseller Frommann in Jena, that Goethe created the pathetic figure of Ottilie.

Des Epimenides Erwachen, a festival play, is present in the edition of 1815, published in Berlin by Duncker and Humblot. This is a second issue, for the first contains the names of the actors. It includes a preface by Konrad Levezow, addressed to the audience of the Berlin Opera House at the performance on March 30. Written by request to celebrate the allied victories over Napoleon, this allegorical play in twenty-five scenes is distinctly "occasional."

His manifold literary productivity did not always hold the front rank of importance with Goethe. During his two years' sojourn in Italy, which lasted till the summer of 1788, he occupied himself seriously with drawing, painting, and modelling, as well as a thorough study of art history. Rome meant for him the key to the spirit of classic Greek art. In this spirit he later founded and edited, together with Heinrich Meyer, the *Propyläen* (the title referring to the vestibule in the Temple of Athena), a journal of aesthetics with some literary features. Unfortunately, the public was too limited for this kind of fare and Cotta hardly sold 450 copies of the first number. Only six issues appeared, the last in 1800. The Library has two sets of the three illustrated volumes, printed at Tübingen in 1798-1800.

The foremost influence toward classicism in Goethe's time was Johann Joachim Winckelmann, the son of a poor cobbler from the town of Stendal. He lived by preference in Rome and, having started on a trip to Germany, he was seized with homesickness for Italy, returned as far as Trieste and was there brutally murdered. The Library has a first-edition copy of Goethe's *Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert,* published by Cotta in 1805.

It contains Winckelmann's letters to Hieronymus Dieterich Berendis, a Weimar court official; an outline of the art history of the eighteenth century; and biographical sketches as well as an appreciation of Winckelmann. A later organ for the dissemination of Goethe's ideas on art was the periodical *Ueber Kunst und Alterthum,* of which the Library has the complete illustrated set of six volumes, published at Stuttgart in 1816-1832 — the last number edited by the Weimar Friends of Art. A proof of the seriousness with which Goethe took his art studies can be gained from the two volumes of *Goethe's Kunstsammlungen,* described by Christian Schuchart, Jena 1848.

IT is known that Goethe was prouder of his contributions to the science of colors than of his greatest imaginative work; and for forty years he occupied himself with its problems. However, what scientific reputation he has won lies rather in the field of morphology. He discovered a trace of the intermaxillary bone on the human skull. His study on the metamorphosis of plants points in the direction of Darwinian evolution. His *Versuch die Metamorphose der Pflanzen zu erklären* is in the Library's collection in the first edition of Gotha, 1790. The two-volume work on optics, *Zur Farbenlehre,* is present in the first edition of 1810, accompanied by an atlas of sixteen plates with diagrams, in part tinted. The treatise, an attack on Newton's theory that light is composed of all colors, was coldly disregarded by contemporary physicists and has been shown by the great physicist Helmholtz to be erroneous. In volume II, page 666, one will find Goethe's "confession" of how he came to the study of colors through his interest in art, and also his polemics in which he speaks of "the disgusting white of Newton." A third book contains *Zur Naturwissenschaft überhaupt,* 1817, including papers on geology and mineralogy, and *Zur Morphologie* with the preface signed in 1807.

Goethe was also a translator. His German *Life of Benvenuto Cellini,* first published in Schiller's *Horen,* is in the Library in the two-volume edition of 1803. He translated Voltaire and Diderot — the latter's *Neveu de Rameau* from the manuscript left by the author. The Library has the edition of 1805.

Among the early English translations of Goethe's works may be mentioned the three-volume first edition of Carlyle's *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship,* Edinburgh 1824; a Boston edition of *Faust* — the version of Charles T. Brooks, published by Ticknor and Fields in 1856; and another New England product, *Select Minor Poems of Goethe and Schiller,* compiled and translated (with some other contributors) by John Sullivan Dwight, issued by Hilliard Gray & Co. in 1839. The Library has the entire manuscript of this anthology — with a translation of the "Little Heath Rose" crossed out and marked "omit."

Other Goetheana can here be only indicated. Among the collections of Goethe's letters is the small volume of youthful confidences to the Countess Auguste von Stolberg, whom the poet had never seen. On September 17, 1775, he mentioned casually, ". . . when I got up I felt well, and I wrote a scene in my Faust." The brotherly communications to the physiognomist Lavater, from 1774 to 1783, have an appealing spontaneity. The three volumes of letters to Frau von Stein, extending from 1776 over a period of fifty years, revive the writer's life and interests in Weimar. Bettina von Arnim's *Goethe's Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde* includes also letters from Goethe's mother, the bright and hearty "Frau Rath." The two volumes, published in 1835, are followed by Bettina's ecstatic *Tagebuch,* which has to be read with allowance made for a lively imagination.

Finally one must mention a few of the many *Faust* illustrations. The Library has a London 1821 edition of *Faustus: from the German* with engravings after the remarkable, austere outline drawings by Moritz Retzsch which Goethe himself saw approvingly in Dresden in 1810. Technically at the other extreme are the rich, warm-toned — and decidedly Gallic — lithographs by Delacroix which illustrate the French translation of Albert Stapfer, and which appeared in a magnificent folio in 1828 in Paris. Goethe is said to have remarked to Eckermann that "Delacroix had exceeded his own imagination." The romantic Faust-cycle by August von Kreling may be seen in a series of photographs. An edition brought out on the centenary of Goethe's death in 1932 in Berlin shows illustrations in a variety of styles.

The exhibit, which occupies several cases in the Treasure Room, will be on view till the end of December.

Ishmael Melvill

Remarks on Board of Ship Amazon

By JAY LEYDA

THOUGH the three ships manned by Herman Melville in his two and a half years of Pacific whaling are now identified — the *Acushnet* of Fairhaven, the *Lucy Ann* of Sydney, Australia, and the *Charles & Henry* of Nantucket — no full record of any of these voyages has yet been uncovered. A precious day-by-day abstract log of the first voyage has been found in the National Archives, but this is stripped of all personal detail.* His second whaler has been brought partially to life by the discovery, in the Mitchell Library of Sydney, of the documents relating to the mild mutiny on the *Lucy Ann* while at Tahiti — an episode dramatized by Melville in his *Omoo*. The record of the six months spent on the *Charles & Henry* is sketchiest of all — and there is less hope than usual in this case for finding the ship's log, for the owners, Charles and Henry Coffin, are known to have contributed the company's logbooks for paper salvage at the beginning of the Civil War. The only miracle worth praying for here is that a journal kept by one of Melville's fellow-sailors may turn up in some Nantucket attic.

Melville himself is the least reliable of all sources for information on his whaling experiences. The greater the artist, the greater the manipulation and distortion of fact and personal experience — and the art and purposes of Melville tower higher and higher in the landscape of world literature. He has left the mere facts far behind him, but it is only through these facts, in conjunction with his works, that we can learn something of his mind and character. So it becomes our responsibility to dig as thoroughly into these facts as is possible after all the years of

*It seems an irony that, in contrast to our meager information on this maiden voyage of the *Acushnet*, we should have no less than *three* rich records of the *Acushnet's* next voyage: the official log is in the private collection of M. M. Armstrong, a journal kept by one of the boat-steerers is in the possession of Augustus P. Loring, Jr., and a vivid journal kept by a fellow (Ansel Weeks, Jr.) as young and as green as Melville was — is in the Fearing Collection at Harvard.

neglect and destruction that have obscured the true figure of Herman Melville.

The first lesson taught every Melville excavator is: *Suspect everything.* Without this scepticism (which also implies belief in Melville as a creator rather than reporter), one Melville scholar, William Gilman of Rochester University, would never have been able to make his remarkable reconstruction of Melville's first sea-job, in the crew of a Liverpool packet, the *St. Lawrence,* if he had (as had everyone else) taken Melville's word in *Redburn* for the ship and its adventures, as well as his own age, position on board, circumstances, etc., on this occasion.

Take, for example, Melville's most famous I-character, the narrator Ishmael of *Moby Dick.* The usual identification between the almost totally fictional Wellingborough Redburn and twenty-year-old Herman Melville is even firmer in linking the splenetic, hypo-ed, escaping, suicidal Ishmael with twenty-one-year-old Melville. Although we know the Melville family was financially worse off than usual in the fall of 1840, and that Herman needed a job — almost any job — badly, there is no foundation beyond his own words, *as a novelist,* for dressing him in the character and mood of his Ishmael. In fact, a bare month before Herman signed the ship's articles of the *Acushnet,* his brother Gansevoort reported to the family at home that Herman was "in good health & tolerable spirits," and that he "had his hair sheared & whiskers shaved & looks more like a Christian than usual." There is little room in this normal picture for the extremes of desperation confessed by Ishmael. No, it would surely be more to the point to divorce Ishmael from Herman, and look elsewhere for Ishmael's model — leaving a level piece of earth on which to build a realistic figure of Melville in these crucial years.

Among Melville's own cousins there were plenty of seamen, and in combing these for a young man with a good reason to escape from the troubles and pain of land, condemning himself to the long voyages of a whaling ship, we find a perfect person to sit for Melville's portrait of Ishmael. If anything, he is perhaps too perfect for the portrait, and should be therefore suspect, as well.

Pierre François Henry Thomas Wilson Melvill was the fa-

vorite son of Herman's beloved uncle Thomas Melvill, Jr. (who preferred the Scottish to the English spelling of the family name). Among the rare fragments of intimate evidence, one is inclined to see more affection expressed by Herman for his romantic, thoughtful, and comparatively improvident Uncle Thomas than for his own father, Allan. The year spent by Herman on his uncle's farm may have been 1834 (though much later in life he remembered it as 1836), and it was this summer that Thomas received "the most painfully afflicting intelligence, that my son Thomas has been obliged to resign" his commission of midshipman in the U. S. Navy.* As an impressionable nephew Herman would therefore have been a witness of the yet more painful lack of any further intelligence from a son who imagined himself disgraced, a shameful burden to his family. After a period that was an agony of silence for the family, and possibly an agony of protective alcoholism for the black sheep himself, ex-Midshipman Thomas W. Melvill embarked on the first of his avenues of escape, the whaler *Columbus,* sailing from Fairhaven June 7, 1835, for a voyage of almost two years, to hunt the whale in the waters of the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Now his communications with his family, that he had himself been guilty of cutting, were cut for him by the departure of the *Columbus* — this, alone, must have seemed sufficient blessing to him.

Out of a heap of hints and errors William Gilman has traced

*In the National Archives at Washington Mr. Wilson L. Heflin, of the United States Naval Academy, recently found fresh documents of importance about the family Ishmael. Charged in September 1831, with jumping "with his feet upon the breast of Thomas Spence an O. Seaman" aboard the *U.S.S. Vincennes,* and thereby disobeying the orders of the ship, Thomas W. Melvill faced a Court Martial on 30 April 1832 that found him guilty of both charges and specifications, but did "adjudge him no further punishment but admonish him to remember that no circumstances can justify an officer in forgetting his dignity, by yielding to paroxysms of passion." Before reaching this opinion, the Court heard seven pages (ledger size) of Melvill's defense, more angry and rhetorical than logical, ending politely:

> In conclusion, gentlemen, with the most perfect respect and really good feeling too what, may I ask were your dispositions at my stage of life? Why buoyant with ever a youthful ardor to excel and which I perceive has been recompensed by honorable promotion — I only ask the same indulgence to my fault, if you think it one, that perhaps has been extended to something older and better officers than myself. I have done —

Though not the end of his naval career, this was the beginning of its end.

the whaling career of Thomas W. Melvill. When the *Columbus* returned to Fairhaven on February 26, 1837, Thomas got away again as soon as he could find a new berth, on June 15, sailing on the *Hydaspe* of New Bedford for another two-year voyage to New Zealand whaling waters. The *Hydaspe* returned with poor results (1,825 whale oil — no sperm oil) in February 1839, and Thomas's pattern took shape as a habit with his departure in June as ship-keeper on the *Amazon* (a ship as old as the fictional *Pequod*), whaling again in the Middle Ground, between New Zealand and New Holland (not yet named Australia). The *Amazon* brought back a scurvy-weakened Thomas two years later, in May 1841, and it was the *Oregon* that took Thomas out on his last escape a few weeks afterwards.

It was, appropriately, *The Friend of Temperance and Seamen* that announced the death and burial in Lahaina of "Thos. W. Malvill, belonging to Boston, Mass.," in September 1844 — just as his cousin Herman was nearing Boston on the warship *United States,* to shift careers, from sailor to writer.

WITHOUT further strain on the possible relation between poor Thomas and *Moby Dick's* Ishmael, it should be pointed out that the ships sailed by Thomas usually took a route — across the Atlantic and round the Cape of Good Hope to the Indian and Pacific Oceans — exactly that of Captain Ahab's *Pequod,* a route Herman Melville never sailed.

It may be the lack of a whaling log directly attached to Herman Melville's experience that lends particular flavor to the discovery, in the whaling collection of Mr. Paul Nicholson of Providence, of the full record of Thomas W. Melvill's penultimate voyage — that of the *Amazon.* This has considerable interest, not only as a voyage by Herman Melville's first cousin and possible model, but intrinsically, as well. Its first-mate author, courageously phonetic in his spelling, offers a self-portrait of an independent Vermont Yankee that is quite as vivid as his scenes of whaling and crew-life.

The first entry*:

*It should be noted that each day's entry is begun with the reading of the ship's position at noon. That day's entry then continues till the following noon. —

Remarks on Board of Ship Amazon of Fairhaven June 10th 1839 Bound to New Zeland on a whaleing Voyage Capt. Robert G. Smith.

. . . First part Light winds from W N W and fine weather at 4½ took the anchor and proseeded to Sea at 8 P M discharged the pilott Stowed the Anchor unbent the chains &c &c at Cutty Hunk Light Bore pr Compass E.N.E. Dist pr East 6 Miles from which I take my departure. . .

Two weeks later, half way to Fayal, there is a rehearsal: "Lowerd the Boats for the Crues to get there hands in . . . ," and, on June 27, the first performance:

at 10 A M Lowerd for a Sperm whale at 10½ Struck and kild got 2 Boats Stove one verry bad and one Man hurt

Hardly had they finished boiling their first prize before they reached the Azores — and more luck:

at 7 Saw a Shoal of Sperm whales at 8 Lowerd Struck and kild two

While laying on and off the west side of Fayal, they spoke the bark *Bruce* of their own port, Fairhaven, and the schooner *Primrose* of Nantucket, the first two of the many friendly rivals from home that they were to meet throughout the voyage. On their way south through the Atlantic they paid for another sperm whale with another "Badley Stove" boat — but then their luck began to wear thin:

15 July . . . at 5½ A M Lowerd for a Sperm whale and Chaced No Success at 9½ Lowerd agane for the Same whale No Success two or three whale in Sight

18 July . . . at 10 A.M. Lowerd for a Shoal of Sperm whale and Chased No Success

19 July . . . at 2 P.M. took up the Boats and got Dinner at 3½ Loward agane at 4 Struck and Drew [harpoons] Chased till Sun Set and got Nothing Damd hard old times No Mistake took up the Boats and Lay aback in hopes to fall in with the whale in the Morning. . .

Tempers on board could not have been much soothed by the events of 17 September:

The log fills 115 pages of a large folio volume (10" × 15"), and three more pages are covered with figures on the amounts of oil taken on board during the voyage.

Employed in Ships duty & broke out for Beef and found one Bbl that Stunk like damnation. . . Employed Boiling that Bbl of bad beef for the Slush. . .

"Strong Breezes" grew stronger:

23 September . . . fresh gales and Squally from W N W Steering S E By E at 3 took in Main top gallant Sail & Mizin topsail and dobble reefed fore & Main Latter part heavy gales from N W to West at 5 took in the fore topsail and fore and Close reefed the Main and Secured the Boats & Luft too in furling the fore Sail it Slat and nocked two Men of the Yard one fell on Deck and the other caugt in the rigging the one that fell on Deck it hurt Slightly. . . Split the fore topmast Stay Sail

26 September . . . verry heavy Squals with thunder and Light at 10 the Main topsail Brace parted went to clue the topsail up and Split — it had Caried away the Main brace davit and things looked dark for a fue Moments but fortion Smiled in our favour and we got evry thing Secure without losing the yards Split the fore topmast Stay Sail got up the Mizen Stay Sail and Bent it I think it blowed as hard as ever I saw it or harder from N.W.

When it quieted down enough to be just rugged — good whaling weather — both sperm and right whales showed up almost daily, but remained just as elusive as before the heavy squalls. The *Clematis* of New London and the *Barclay* of New Bedford were met, and reported enviable successes. The crew of the *Amazon* concentrated on domestic tasks as they left African waters and headed into the Indian Ocean:

3 November . . . Employed Smoking Ship at 7½ Comencd with Brimston tobacker Black peper & Segars No whale in Sight

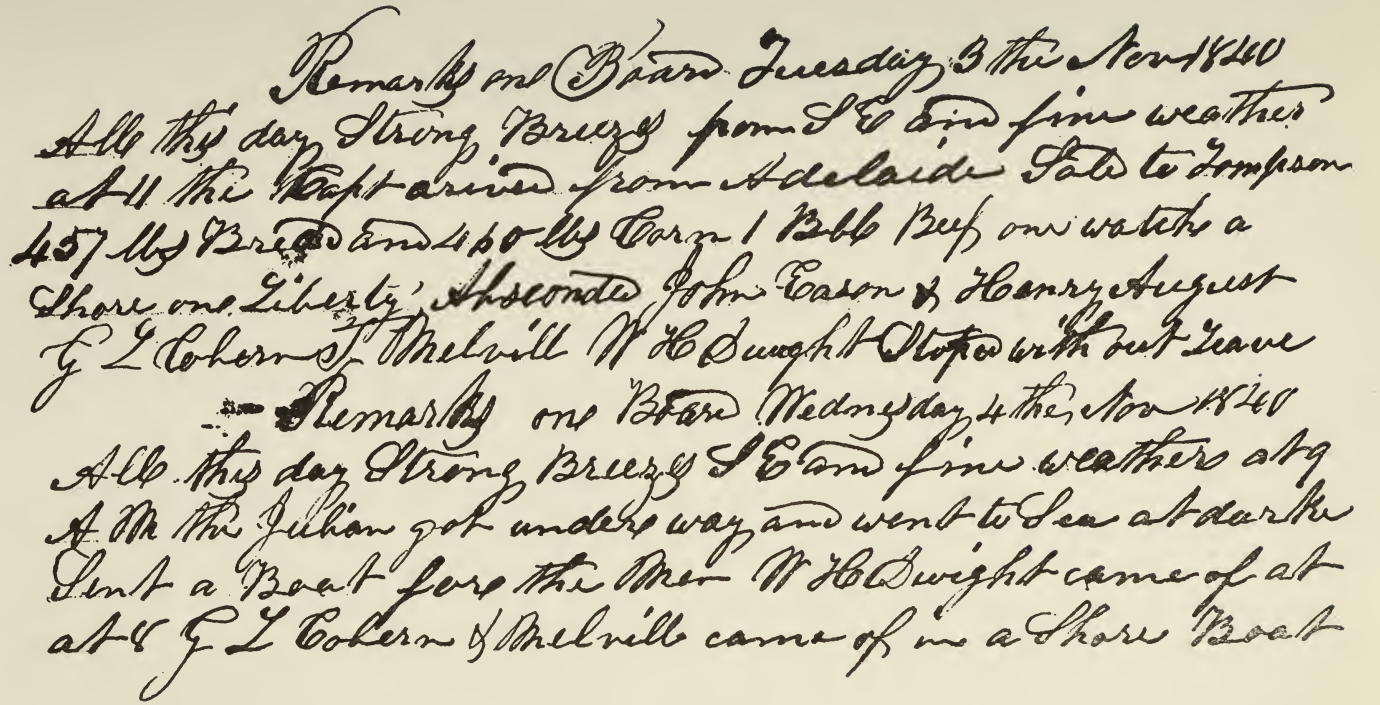
4 November . . . at 3½ took of the hatches and found 3 rats ded in the cabbin

As they approached New Holland the whales looked more promising — but it seemed to be *other* ships that kept these promises:

23 November . . . at Sundown Lowerd for a wright whale and chased till Dark No Success came aboard and took up the Boats and took in Sail. . . at day Light Made Sail Saw the Neptune [of New London] tak a whale

But the coming week was a good one:

24 November . . . heding South at 7 Lowerd for a whale Struck



Remarks on Board Tuesday 3 the Nov 1840
All this day Strong Brezes from S E and fine weather
at 11 this Capt arrived from Adelaide Sold to Compson
457 lbs Bread and 480 lbs Corn 1 Bbl Beef one watch a
Shore one Liberty Absconded John Eason & Henry August
G L Cobern J Melvill W H Dwight Stoped without Leave
Remarks on Board Wednesday 4 the Nov 1840
All this day Strong Brezes S E and fine weather at 9
A M the Julian got underes way and went to Sea at dark
Sent a Boat for the Men W H Dwight came of at
at 8 G L Cobern & Melvill came of in a Shore Boat

125

Entry in the Log of the Amazon: *Cobern, Melvill, and Dwight "Stoped with out Leave . . ."*

and killed and got our Boat Stove at 9½ took the whale to the Ship and took in Sail 3 or 4 whale in Sight Latter part fine breezes from E.N.E. at 5½ Commenced cutting at 8 finished cutting and made Sail heading S E at 10 A M Commenced Boiling

25 November . . . heading S E at 2 P M Lowerd for two whale Struck and killd at 5 took the first whale to the Ship at 6½ took the other to the Ship and took in Sail. . . Empld Boiling. . . at 6 A M Commenced cutting. . .

26 November . . . at 11 A M Lowerd for a whale Struck and killed Empld Boiling

29 November . . . at 9 A M Lowerd for a whale Struck and drew at 10½ Lowerd a gane for the Same whale Struck and drew Employed Stowing down Boilling [and so was the first mate] &c &c

30 November . . . at 9 A M Lowerd for a whale Struck and killed at 11½ took the whale to the Ship saw a grate Number of finbacks

3 December . . . at 2½ Lowerd for two whale Struck and killed

The run of luck was over for a spell.

On December 10 the *Amazon* speaks the *Alexander Mansfield* of Hudson, New York, on her maiden — and last — whaling voyage. Thomas's cousin Herman grew nostalgic over her hulk in Papeete bay three years later:

> Before leaving Tahiti, I had the curiosity to go over this poor old ship, thus stranded on a strange shore. What were my emotions when I saw upon her stern the name of a small town on the river Hudson! She was from the noble stream on whose banks I was born; in whose waters I had a hundred times bathed. In an instant, palm-trees and elms — canoes and skiffs — church spires and bamboos — all mingled in one vision of the present and the past. — *Omoo*

The two ships sailed together for a few days, though this did nothing to better the luck of the *Amazon*:

18 December . . . at 9 A M Lowerd for a Sperm whale But the Alexander Mansfield had 3 lines fast to him and we did not fasten Saw one or two More whale

19 December . . . at 1 P.M. Lowerd for Sperm whale No Success at 5 Lowerd for an other and carried the Boat as fair as could be and Made an other Damd foopaug [!] in not fastning the Damdist poorest Set of Boatsteerers that I ever See

20 December . . . at 4 P M Lowerd for a Sperm whale at 5½ Struck the whale had 2 Irons and a line fast to him the whale run bad

could not git up to him So as to kill him at 8 hooked up the other line and cut and let him go

26 December . . . at 1 P M Saw a wright whale at 2 Lowerd and an other damd foopaugh Made in Not Striking the whale By 2 of the Boatsteers at 3½ came aboard and took up the Boats at 5 Lowerd for the Same whale No Success at 9 Spoke the Caledonia of Sag Harbour 1000 Bbl Oil

27 December . . . at 8 Saw a wright whale the Capt tooke the 2d Mate to Steere him and he Struck the whale & killed him

Latt 41 45 Long 123 14

29 December . . . at 12½ it came in thicke foggy weather 2 Boats a towing the whale the Capt Sent the 3d Boat but She did not find us till about 3 Oclock and then tha heard us blow our horns from the Ship and tha wore Ship and She Soon hove in Sight thru the fogg

Notwithstanding these personal demonstrations by the ship's officers, it is not surprising that when the *Amazon* arrived in the port of Albany in New Holland some of her crew tried to find a better ship:

24 February, 1840 . . . Employed wattering and painting Ship &c &c one watch a Shore on liberty fore Men Absconded Richard Smith Charles Done James Rood and James Bradley

The more patient crew-members spent their off-ship time in port fishing and oystering, and when the *Amazon* headed out again (after selling a barrel of beef and a barrel of pork), the crew enjoyed "Sale of the runaways Duds at Auc[tion] . . ."

Port had not sharpened the skill of the boat-steerers:

17 March . . . at 2 P M saw a large Sperm whale Lowerd and carried the Boat Steerer as fair as could be on to the whale and So darted both of his Irons and did not brake Blackskin this is the 2d large Sperm whale that he has missed and two or three wright whales it ant hard luck but it is damd foolish work

5 April . . . at 2 Spoke the John Adams* of N. Bedford 700 Bbl S O Oil at darke took in Sail and luft too. . . at day light Made Sail at 8 Lowerd for Sperm whale in company with the Brighton [of New Bedford] & John Adams No Success took up the Boats and wore Ship heading S.S.W. at 11 Loward agane the whales agoing Quick to windward No Success the Brighton & John

*This ship, too, was caught into Herman's Tahitian experience; if Captain Coleman of the *Charles & Henry* had been able to locate the deserters from the *John Adams* (on her next voyage) he would not have required the services of Herman Melville as boat-steerer.

Adams Stood to the N.N.W. and got in to Shoal about the Same time the B got 2 and J A 1

Desperate to get *some* kind of oil into the waiting barrels, the *Amazon* stooped to a shoal of blackfish, killing and boiling six of them, but the sea only intensified its show of displeasure towards the *Amazon*:

18 April . . . at 2 past by a large dead Sperm Whale that want good for enny thing and Siverel Jumpers and a whale Spout 6 times and Saw Nothing more of it. . .

The first mate continued to focus the blame on the boat-steerers:

27 April . . . at 3½ Saw a Shoal of Sperm whale at 4 Lowerd and chased till darke No Success . . . at 8 [A.M.] wore Ship heading in Shore at 10½ Saw a Shoal of large Sperm whales at 11 Lowerd at 11½ Struck and killed and went on to another but the Boat-steerer made a damd foopaugh and did not get fast

28 April . . . at 4 P.M. took the whale to the Ship at 5 commenced cutting found it So rugged and Bad that the hook tore out &c &c that we did not get enny thing don till darke. . .

In bad weather they got around Bald Head and came to anchor off Point Possession, in company with the *Martha* of Hudson. Six new hands were recruited to replace the deserters at Albany. The behavior of the two captains subsequently made our first mate definitely suspicious:

18 May . . . Laying off and on Pt Malcom Severel Islands in Sight Latter part fine breezes from N.W. running down the Eastern groope of Isles at 11 A M Sent a Boat in Shore at Sandy bight to See if tha was anchorage but tha was not water a nuff

19 May . . . running down the cost at 5½ come to Anchor in 12 fathm of water and furld the Sails I dont call this a voyage of whailing But a voyage of Survaying and I dont like the buisness

The two ships finally decide on anchorage at Fowler's Bay, arriving there on May 26. On this day Thomas is first mentioned by name:

the capt ashore with Melvill who is bad of with the Scurvey

The more the *Amazon* and *Martha* make themselves at home in the bay, the more restless the first mate becomes:

30 May . . . one Boats crue ashore making gardin No Whale in the Bay

31 May . . . No whale in the Bay one Boats crue a Shore Building a hut for Melvill So that he can Stop a Shore

1 June . . . one Boats crue in Shore looking for fresh Water at 4 P M the capt & Boats crue got back from there Excursion after Laying on the Bach over knight with out enny Supper or Breakfast tha then tryed to git of tha was so much Surf that tha got the Boat Swamped twice and gave it up and then futted it round to the Ship the Dist was about 25 Miles

4 June . . . it appears that Capt Smith & Capt Whealding had a greede to not lower for whale unless tha came in Side of the Ships but tha had not enny thing ben sed to me or Mr Holmes about it. we went after the Boat [that had been left on the beach] and Saw a whale and chased it No Success and when we came back we got within a half or thre forths of Mile of the Ship and Saw a whale and gave chase and down came two of the Marthars Boats in chase & Capt Smith the whale went out of the Bay & I and the 3^{d} Mate of the Martha chased the whale farther out then the others Boats at last I fount it no use and gave it up the 3^{d} Mate passed By and gave me to undrstand that I had done a nuf to Send me to Botany Bay I heared him thru then tole him if Capt Smith or Capt Whealding or Capt Hell & Damnation had made Laws that I should [not] Strike a whale if I could as long as I was in My Boat but if I was aboard of the Ship and Capt Smith sed not go then it wold be as he Sed but when I was of I am Master of My own Boat and Should strike a whal if I could the Captains agreed not to Lower for a whal for one week and told us not to Strike a whal if he came under the Ships Bows and So I took our craft out of the Boats

After this heated scene the entries for the following week are unusually terse, but the final victory goes to our first mate, and his spirits again rise:

10 June . . . at 8 one Boat from the Martha and one from our Ship Lowerd for a whale the Marthas Boat Struck and got Stove our Boat killed took the whale to M & cutter hur in cow & calf the veto is off

13 June . . . Struck & killed a wright whale at darke took hur along Side of the Amazon and a noble whale it is

14 June . . . at 5 [A.M.] comencd cutting at Sun rize Capt Whelding came aboard with a Boats crue to halpe cut and Sent 3 Boat from M & 2 from A a whaling at 8 Strucke & killed at 11 took the whale to the Ship Capt Smith went aboard to halp cut the Other whale 2 Boats from each Ship whaling at 3 commenced Boiling

Captain Smith must have had good reason for anchoring in Fowler's Bay, for the whaling, once begun, continued very good — with right whales and humpbacks showing and chased every day. The first mate was having such a good time that even his complaints sound good-humored:

> *12 July* . . . at 8 Lowered for a cow & calf Struck the calf and the Iron drew and off tha went bad luck to them

Melvill's life ashore must have seemed attractive to the rest of the crew, for there was suddenly a rapid increase of scurvy victims, clamoring to be housed on dry land. On July 17 two men were removed with "a light tutch of the Scurvey and built them a house and left them ashore." The obvious advantages of this (no duty, for one thing, and far more pleasant surroundings than were afforded by the *Amazon*) touched off the epidemic; there were four victims by August 3 and six by September 4. But this idyll had to end:

> *5 September* . . . at 5 went a Shore and brot of the Sick Men and the tent Frost & Griffith is bad off Melvill Gannet Tarbox and Sanderson have ben down with the Scurvey but tha ant So bad and 2 or 3 more are complaining

When the *Amazon* sailed from Fowler's Bay on September 10 there were "9 Men down with the Scurvey," and by September 17 there was a work crisis:

> at 12 Oclock Saw 2 wright whale close to the Ship could not Lower for them on account of the Sick 11 or 12 Men of Duty
>
> *18 September* . . . a Most all hands complaining with the Scurvey and we have had a head wind amost of the time Since we have been out of the Bay and god only noes when we shall git in to port for I dont
>
> *22 September* . . . at 2 Saw a Sperm whale Mustered all hands and had a nuf to Man two Boats by taking one that had the Scurvey Lowerd & chased No Success. 10 Men that is verry bad with the Scurvey & 5 or 6 More that is complaining
>
> *23 September* . . . Saw a plenty of Sperm whales But could not Lower for them on account of the Sick all Large whale and No end to them as far as you could See and wright a long Side

Rounding the south-east end of Kangaroo Island the *Amazon* sailed past Antechamber Bay and came to anchor on September 25 in Kingscote [Queenscliffe?] Harbor. Melvill and the other

indisputably sick were taken ashore to a boarding-house, and the rest of the crew got emergency treatment: "Bot 4 Jugs of Lime Juse."

By October 2 the first mate confided his suspicions to the log-book. The fact that one of the otherwise suspect boat-steerers, George L. Cobern, was involved, added sarcasm to his irritation:

> the capt & 3d Mate off on a fishing Excursion with a gang from Shore took 40 fathm tow Line & a Scane of twin &c and went off Merry for the Night. . . George L Cobern a Shore Drunk when it was his Duty on Board Ship. . . and the Sick a gitting Smart
>
> *3 October* . . . Henry August Refused to do duty put him in Irons and put him in to the run at dark Sent a Boat for the Liberty Men and all of them came of but George L. Cobern and he wold not com of Left him a Shore tolerable Drunk and he is the first Man that has Stoped a Shore with out leave
>
> *4 October* . . . one watch a Shore on Liberty all came of but James Simmons & John Eason and Mr Cobern came of as Drunk as a Lord after 2 days and one Night a Shore at 3 P M Let Henry August out of Irons and his promise to Obay Orders and do Duty

On October 6 Captain Smith, along with Captain Hawes of the New Bedford whaler *Julian* went off in a boat to Adelaide to hire recruits for their diminishing crews. Two days later the first mate, now in charge of the ship, recorded two more desertions (Gannett and Simmons).

Fellow-officers Melvill and Cobern must have discovered their kindred souls early in the voyage, but the log-book does not link their names till bad weather held them on shore together in a saloon:

> *16 October* . . . Latter part heavy gales from west with heavey Squalls of rain one watch a Shore on Liberty at dark all came of but George L Cobern Thomas Melvill and George Tarbox
>
> *17 October* . . . at dark all came of and Melvill Tarbox and Mr Cobern and all Sober but Mr. Cobern and [he] was as Drunk as Dives Sow
>
> *18 October* . . . the remainder of the Sick came of from Shore G.L.C. ashore the Same as usual
>
> *19 October* . . . at dark all hands came of G L C came of the Same as usual

20 October . . . G L C Bad of with the Horrers

Another desertion (Abraham Noyes) on October 24 made the return of the captain from Adelaide even more to be wished for.

28 October . . . No nuze from Adelaide and I dont No when we shall have but I think it high time to be at Sea

1 November . . . this beats hell right Out and Out 38 days in port and Capt Smith and Mr Holmes at Adelaide and god only Noes when he will come for I dont and if I was in Old Vermont he might stay till the reserrection of the Jews for all what I care

When the captain returned, the threat of departure prompted more desertion, and drove Colbern and Melvill back to the bar:

at 11 the Capt arived from Adelaide. . . one watch a Shore on Liberty Absconded John Eason & Henry August G L Cobern T Melvill W H Dwight Stoped with out Leave

4 November . . . Sent a Boat for the Men W H Dwight came of at 8 G L Cobern & Melvill came of in a Shore Boat

In the rapid turn-over of an unhappy whaler four new men had been shipped to replace the deserters. As the *Amazon* headed out again towards whales, the recent joys ashore were punished:

Sent George L. Cobern out of the cabbin in to the Steeredg to live and do his duty as Boat Steerer for his Drunken worthless conduck

ON Sunday, January 3, 1841, as the *Acushnet* sailed from New Bedford on its maiden whaling voyage, carrying Herman Melville to his greatest experience, the *Amazon* edged westward towards a home that Thomas W. Melvill, eaten away by scurvy and gin and melancholy, never wanted to see again. Nor was the *Amazon* herself in very good health — on Christmas Day the first mate "found the Old Ship to be leaking 368 Stroaks pr Houre." On January 16 Captain Smith gave the most welcome order that can be heard aboard a whaler, and the first mate recorded his reaction:

. . . heading W N. W and Bound Hom Sweete Hom thank god

Although it may have been discouragement that provoked the order, a week later, on the homeward passage, a shoal of sperm whale was sighted, and four were killed and boiled, and

two days later two more went into barrels — the richest catch since leaving home. This was the last stop before St. Helena — not even a friendly outward-bound whaler could make them hesitate now:

> *25 February* . . . at 11 A M the Ship Dover of Boston past by us within 3 or 4 Ships lengths but Capt S would not Speak him he Sot his Inson and cept it Sot untill he got past he had it Sot about one hour Nothing in Sight of the Whale kind
>
> Latt 29 10 Long 55 35

Everyone was impatient for home — more than ever after leaving St. Helena:

> *18 April* . . . Spoke the Bark Jones of N London and gammed with hur and I hope it is the Last gam that the Amazon will have this voyage
>
> *12 May* . . . All this day fine Breezes S.E. By Graicous

It was on May 28 that the *Amazon* brought her 343 barrels of sperm-oil and 1,876 barrels of whale-oil (half a world away from Fowler's Bay) around Gay Head, completing her thirteenth voyage:

> . . . at 5½ took up Pilott of Seaconnet Point for New Bedford thank god

BEFORE his last departure, on the *Oregon*, the family Ishmael wrote to his father. This letter has disappeared, but its tone of repentance and despair can be heard in the reports sent to friends. His brother Robert reported:

> . . . he then wrote that he should pay Father a visit if possible when he returned, that he had left off his habit of drinking, and was an altered man. I hope & trust that he remains so

and his father wrote to Lemuel Shaw, future father-in-law of Herman Melville:

> I rec^{d} a letter from Th^{s}. (the first since about 9 yrs) a few weeks ago, w^{h} has afforded us much hope that he has experienced a change; — he states that but for an uncommon swift voyage, he should have made us a visit; — & gives assurance that if he lives to return, he will do it. — He really seems to feel his folly & error — & most willingly do I cling to the hope he may continue to improve, & become, once more a man —

William Dean Howells & Thomas Sergeant Perry

By VIRGINIA HARLOW

1

IN the spring of 1869, when he asked Henry James to take him to call on William Dean Howells, Perry, at the age of twenty-four, was holding a tutorship in French and German at Harvard and Howells, eight years his senior, was assistant editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*. Many years after his initial visit Perry reminisced, "Of what we talked about I have not the faintest recollection. Possibly we began about the weather, but soon I suppose we were discussing literature."[1] Their literary discussions may be said to have lasted for fifty years — until Howells's death in 1920. Mildred Howells, in her biographical sketch of her father, speaks of the "triangular friendship" of Howells, James, and Perry, which "time and distance never diminished." "Howells," she writes, "held that Perry knew more about literature than any man living, and they walked and talked it together, sometimes in America and sometimes in Europe."[2] Presently Perry was to make a further impression upon Howells, for in the summer of 1869, when he and a classmate, Charles Stratton, took an excursion "circumnavigating" New England, they met Howells in Quebec. Perry, according to his story, gave "a somewhat depressing account of the trip [up the Saguenay] and spoke without admiration of the brief glance one got at the Capes Trinity and Eternity . . . at which the passengers threw potatoes while the steamboat's whistle shrieked."[3] He wrote of the effect of his account on Howells:

> Mr. Howells, being thus prepared for the worst, found everything much better than he had been prepared to expect, as one may recall from the description in "A Chance Acquaintance." A sensitive conscience tells me, though Mr. Howells is kind enough to deny it, that it is my unseemly comment on the wonders of nature that he puts into the lips of the supercilious Arbuton. I bear no malice. If one can't be immortalized in one way one must try another.[4]

If Howells saw the "supercilious Arbuton" in the young Perry, he saw at the same time a scholar sufficiently versed in European literature, and sufficiently astute as a critic, to take responsibility for a regular column of reviews of French and German books for the *Atlantic*. This position Perry held throughout Howells's editorship, contributing altogether three hundred ninety-seven reviews and thirty articles of considerable length, and his work was of a quality to lead Fred Lewis Pattee to say in 1915, "Your criticism was certainly a formative influence in a formative period."[5] In addition to his work for the *Atlantic,* Perry began reviewing current fiction for the *Nation* in 1871, and when John R. Dennett suggested that he come to New York in order to devote his time to that periodical, Howells wrote to James:

> I have seen something more than usual of Perry, lately; and I'm working hard to get him a sub-editorship of the *North American Review*. It depends upon the problematical chief, for the publishers are quite willing. I think it a pity Perry should go to New York, and be Dennettized. One Dennett's enough–and to spare.[6]

Not only through Howells's kind offices but through his own merits, Perry gained the full editorship of the *North American Review* late in 1872, when both James Russell Lowell and Henry Adams had gone to Europe. He resigned his teaching position at Harvard, and an undated letter to James Mills Peirce gives vent to his enthusiasm over the new opportunity:

> I want to see you much . . . to tell you of new plans & ambitious hopes. Viz. I am in process of treaty with the old house of J. R. Osgood & Co. . . . about taking the assistant editorship of the N. A. Rev. Some sonorously-named, Beacon St.-inhabiting patrician will have his name come first, to attract the snobbish public, while I read MSS., proofs, correspond &c. & have the literary side wh. I shall make the most of. How is that for glorious? I walk the streets exalted. I am doubly careful not to get run over, tho' I doubt the possibility *now*. Then Howells wants me for the Atlantic to do next year double the Fr. & German & half the English books for him. . . . At 3 I meet Ticknor (whose heart I shall win by calling him Ticknock) so I can't delay.

The five issues which Perry edited were noteworthy for contributions which he solicited from John Fiske and from Henry James, as well as for his own literary critiques. But early in

1874 Henry Adams returned from Europe and for financial reasons gave the assistant editorship to Henry Cabot Lodge and took the editorship himself, since both of them could do the work without compensation. For Perry this would have been out of the question.[7]

The loss of his position must have struck Perry a heavy blow, because he had depended upon it as a means of support not only for himself but for Miss Lilla Cabot, whom he was to marry in the spring of 1874. Howells, however, was prompt in offering him more and more work on the *Atlantic.* Reviewing must have been especially congenial to Perry, for he was a rapid reader, and he liked to write in the conversational style of journalism rather than with the care and revision which more permanent works require. Of his great love for books, John Addington Symonds remarked to Edmund Gosse, "When you go to Boston you will see Perry, one of the most bright-souled students of literature, the biggest *helluo librorum* in America."[8] Of his reading habits he himself wrote to Van Wyck Brooks:

> What you say about the way knowledge creeps into one through his finger-ends as he cuts a book is perfectly true. I have often noticed it. I have cut a book for my wife, she would read me something, always I had seen it. Now on the rare occasions when I have in my hands a book really worth reading I take the precaution of holding the book upside down lest I should absorb all the cream from its pp.[9]

During his boyhood in Newport, Perry had discussed with Henry and William James the stories in the *Revue des deux mondes,* to which he became a lifelong subscriber. His two years in France and Germany after college, his four years as tutor of French and German at Harvard, and his correspondence with Henry James during the seventies about the literary fraternity in Paris — all made him particularly qualified to direct American readers towards European writings before these were available in English translations. He read extensively in biography, criticism, and history, but chiefly in current fiction.

Among the scores of authors whose work he appraised for the *Atlantic* were Victor Hugo, Alphonse Daudet, Gustave Flaubert, Theophile Gautier, George Sand, Victor Cherbuliez, Julian Schmidt, Edmond Scherer, and Sainte-Beuve. Of pecu-

liar significance was his recognition of Zola's novels, five of which he reviewed between 1877 and 1881, finding in their naturalism the working of "the intellectual fervor of France which," he wrote, "has so long been, as it were, the aesthetic laboratory of Europe." "In France," he pointed out, "each rejected theory . . . has been deposed by a violent revolution which has almost convulsed society. Romanticism, by popular tumult, replaced classicism; and now Zola comes along with his bottle of petroleum to destroy Romanticism."[10] He could not give unqualified praise to Zola, but he became a crusader for Turgenev. Howells, too, was writing reviews of Turgenev's work, but they were few in number compared with the ten in the *Atlantic,* four in the *Nation,* and the one summary in the *Independent* in 1883, from Perry's pen. Perry found in Turgenev not only what seemed to be an accurate representation of political and social conditions in Russia during an epoch of revolutionary changes, but also the highest form of realism — that which sees people and events as they actually are, and depicts them not by amassing photographic detail but by the choice of appropriate detail, a realism that is concerned not with moral teaching but with life itself.

During this decade Perry wrote for the *North American Review* an essay about Julian Schmidt, comparing the French and the English novel in a way that clearly anticipates Howells's comparison found in his *Criticism and Fiction,* published nearly twenty years later:

> What underlies the whole modern French fictitious literature, is the feeling, but ill expressed by the phrase, "art for art's sake," that whatever exists in human beings is a proper subject for the pen. In how narrow a way this maxim is followed may be seen by the exclusiveness with which, almost without exception, the odious sides of human nature are chosen for description and discussion. Everything must have the flavor of forbidden fruit, and this it is which makes the narrowness and provincialism of French literature as truly marked and more frequent than even the pastoral simplicity of the ideal English novel at which Frenchmen are forever laughing. Even those who are bold enough to deny that its influence is injurious, must confess that it is one-sided in what it represents; no external cleverness should make us forget this fundamental fault.[11]

That Perry was his guiding light in the appreciation of the

Russians was freely acknowledged by Howells. In an essay written in 1917, he exclaimed, "Then there is Turgenieff — how grateful I am for his books! It must be thirty years since I first read him. Thomas Sargent [*sic*] Perry, of Boston, a man of the greatest culture, was almost the first American to read Turgenieff."[12] In a conversation on "Recent Russian Fiction" in *The North American Review,* Howells spoke of his enthusiasm for Tolstoy and Gogol and Dostoevski:

> *W. D. H.:* Of course my next experience after Turgenief was all Tolstoy. And it began through you. Years before I was calling on Professor and Mrs. G— in Cambridge and *War and Peace* in a French version was lying on their table. They said, "There is a curious book," and they seemed a little bewildered by it. . . . Then, years later, when you came to me with *Anna Karenina* you said: "Here is something which I would like you to read. It is the old French business of the seventh commandment, but it is not treated at all as the French novelists treat it." I think you left it with me and I must have read it first in French. . . . I don't know whether we talked much of Gogol or not at that time.
>
> *T. S. P.:* Well, we did. I remember I went out to see you when you were living in B— and I was reading the *Dead Souls* in German, I think. . . .
>
> *W. D. H.:* Well, I had gone back to him — and next, it seems to me, I went forward to Dostoyevsky. I think it was you who spoke to me first about *Crime and Punishment.*[13]

As a contributor to the magazine, Perry attended the famous *Atlantic* dinners. Of the 1874 dinner the Boston *Evening Transcript* reported:

> As we looked down the table, and saw . . . the accomplished editor, Mr. Howells, surrounded by such of his coadjutors as T. B. Aldrich, Henry James, jr., George Cary Eggleston, . . . T. S. Perry, Geo. P. Lathrop, . . . we could not repress the reflection that the magazine was safe to be trusted as an exponent of American thought and literature in such hands.[14]

He sat across the table from Mark Twain at the Whittier birthday dinner in 1877.[15] He was also invited to a supper "with Mark Twain, Chas. Deadly [*sic*] Warner, & Howells," about which he wrote many years later: "I told Fay[16] it was a meeting of the 4 great American humourists. He asked, unnecessarily, it seemed to me, 'who was the 4th?' I was ready for him, I said, 'Mark Twain.' "[17]

2

FROM these early years on, Howells turned to Perry for criticism of his novels, and Perry eagerly responded. He read the manuscript of *The Undiscovered Country* two years before its publication. While commending the character drawing, he objected to "a certain vagueness abt. the mesmeric influence under wh. Egeria is represented to act." "It seems to me," he suggested, "that I wd. take this out of the vague region of mesmerism & explain it fully as the result of obedience to her father & respect for his infirmity. If this was meant I wd. make it clearer." He also approved of Howells's use of the novel rather than the drama, saying, "Yr. little indications of by-play &c. lose their value when they serve only as stage-directions. In yr. novels it is what you say abt. the people & their doings that makes them memorable (e.g. the first quarrel in 'Their Wed. Journey'), & it is a pity to lose these remarks wh. seem insignificant in the plays."[18] A copy of *A Chance Aquaintance* in Perry's library bears Howells's inscription, "The book's first friend."

When in 1881 Howells resigned the editorship of the *Atlantic,* Perry's contributions to the periodical ceased almost immediately, and he wrote thereafter only an occasional article for a magazine or a newspaper. He also met with difficulties with Adams Sherman Hill,[19] which led to the loss of his position at Harvard for which Lowell had recommended him in 1878. He therefore turned his energies, during the next five or six years, to the writing of literary histories based on the new evolutionary theory of criticism. Here, as always, Howells gave him hearty support. His first volume, *English Literature in the Eighteenth Century,* was published by Harper's in 1883, and Howells wrote him not long after:

> Mr. David A. Monroe of Harper & Bros., "one of the powers behind the throne" as Osgood tells me, is a devoted friend and admirer of yours. He is here, and today he asked me, "Do you know Perry's book?" and testified the most lovely and lively sense of its excellence. I told him in general terms that I lived upon it, and that *I had learned from you* the new and true way of looking at literature.[20]

Howells also heralded Perry as "one in America" who "has



Portrait of Howells Painted in 1913 by Lilla Cabot, Wife of Thomas Sergeant Perry

been the first to respond to ideas now everywhere appealing to the human reason," and referred to his work as epoch-making, since it held "that literature is from life, and that it is under the law as every part of life is, and is not a series of preposterous miracles."[21] It was with a guarantee from Howells that Osgood in Boston published Perry's second critical volume, *From Opitz to Lessing: A Study in Pseudo-classicism,* in 1884. But Henry James's prophecy that Perry would find his "recognition in the esteem of a few" was sadly accurate, and when Perry wrote in 1895 asking John Morse to see whether he could get some money from the publishers for him, Morse sent back the following letter from B. H. Ticknor:

> This book was published in October 1884 under a guarantee by Mr. Howells to make good any loss.
>
> It cost, in round numbers, to make plates and print
>
> 500 copies $275.00*
>
> We sold say 200 copies at 150.00
>
> showing a loss of 125.00
>
> We gave away say 75 copies and turned over to H. M. and C. *as waste,* 225 copies, which they disposed of as waste.
>
> We never called on Mr. Howells to recoup the loss under the guarantee he made in behalf of Mr. Perry, but Mr. Perry is certainly not entitled to any copyright, and would not be under any circumstances upon books sold as waste. If there is any claim in the matter, it should be mine against him or Mr. Howells, or both, for the $125.00 lost upon their guarantee.
>
> *Besides advertising.

Perry's third undertaking was an ambitious outline of world literature to be included in a ponderous subscription volume entitled *World's Progress,* and published by M. R. Gately in Boston under the editorship of Charles E. Beale. With unswerving admiration Howells wrote in *Harper's* "Editor's Study" that Perry was one of the first to give the comparative method "recognition and consciousness," and he explained:

> He concerns himself little or not at all with the admiration of "exquisite passages," and as little or less with that censure of special defects which forms the stock in trade of the peevish race hitherto mostly accepted as critics; to him these are incidents without general import, and a cruel jibe or supercilious sneer is impossible to his sane and generous intelligence. It is indeed a new voice, a new temper, and almost unique, in literary criticism, with which

one cannot acquaint himself without enlarging his horizons, and seeing literature in a novel light.[22]

Before his outline of world literature was off the press, Perry, with Howells, had begun a compilation which bore the impressive title, *Library of Universal Adventure by Sea and Land; Including original narratives and authentic stories of Personal Prowess and Peril in all the waters and regions of the globe from the year 79 A.D. to the year 1888 A.D.* Nearly half of the one thousand pages of the book were given over to stories of adventure in America. The collection was recommended to the public for both pleasure and profit — but to no avail. In February 1889 Howells reported that the book was having no success at all. "What damnable luck!" Perry exclaimed. "However, I am accustomed to the cruel neglect of a cold world & simply stick my nose a little higher in the air."[23] A year later Howells informed him that the great sum of $95.45 was awaiting him in royalties,[24] and after another six months he wrote that in the year past 1100 copies of the *Adventures* had been sold. "I feel," he added optimistically, "that we shall yet be able to realize on that book."[25] In his tribute to Howells written for his eightieth birthday, Perry included an amusing sketch of the undertaking, which illustrates the high-pressure salesmanship of the 1880's:

> Mr. Howells let me work in harness with him. We met the tempter, who for this occasion assumed the shape of a man [Harper's subscription agent] who told us how much we should make if we would put together a volume of stories of adventure that should be sold by subscription. Pactolian streams seemed about to flow. . . .
>
> The man who was to set the stream flowing would bring an estimate of the number of homes in America, of the number of school libraries to which this irresistible book should be brought and from every home and from every library there was to come a dollar for the pocket of each compiler.
>
> The book was put together with feverish haste, encouraged by our mentor, whose frequent visits to us kept in practice the compliant tongue that was to recommend the book to the public. . . .
>
> What was the result? After getting together a collection of Horrors that would have frozen the blood in, say, von Hindenburg's veins, so complete that our own children were never allowed a glance at the volume lest they should never sleep quietly

again — after all this, nothing! This Pactolian stream, like a good many others, failed to flow. Perhaps we did our ghastly work too thoroughly. We sometimes see great fear causing torpor. It was so in this case doubtless.[26]

Yet one more book, *A History of Greek Literature,* was to come from the press in 1890, and Howells's review in *Harper's* puts a finger on a quality of Perry's personality which appears in all his writings. He called the work "as temperate as the spirit of Greek literature," and "perhaps the most unliterary history of any literature ever written"; and throughout he emphasized Perry's "manner" which he found "to the last degree plain and simple, so plain and simple that those who have been used to associating power with flourish may not always feel the virtue of it." This manner reflected Perry's " unpretentious and unaffected" mental attitude, being "an expression of democratic sincerity as attractive as it is uncommon."[27]

Some ten years before this, Perry had an opportunity to express his admiration for Howells's talents. In September 1881 the novelist informed him that *Scribner's* was going to print his picture, allowing him to choose his biographer. "I turn to you," he wrote, "as a Jap gentleman does in requesting the kind services of his friend at harikari."[28] In his essay Perry described Howells's humor as unlike "the derisive horse-play of some of those writers who in foreign parts have acquired a reputation for American humor . . . but rather [as] a subtle, evasive humor, without geographical limitation, because it is so rare that no country can lay claim to its exclusive possession."[29] He also commended Howells's realism, which tended "to prick the bubble of abstract types," and "proved that realism does not mean groping in the mire," but "points out the beauty hidden in simple actions, the pathos lurking beneath seemingly indifferent words, — in short, the humanity of life."[30]

3

THE friendship of the two men weathered a serious tension over the Blaine-Cleveland campaign of 1884, in which Perry was more shocked by Blaine's "prostitution of office" than by reports of Cleveland's personal affairs. He had let his name be

published among the Mugwumps listed in the Boston *Transcript,*[31] and he sent a long letter to Howells protesting against his avowed intention of voting for Blaine.

> As to the Cleveland scandal [he wrote], it is shown to be exaggerated, & is at the best unessential. The prominence that is given to it shows the impossibility of meeting the things proved against Blaine by his own words. Moreover, we are not to vote on giving the Pope's rose in reward for virtue . . . but to elect a public servant. C.'s misdeeds in no way affect what alone concerns us, his public duties, & Blaine's do. More than this, dishonesty is a worse thing than private licentiousness: the denunciation of one is a high duty, that of the other begets hypocrisy. . . . Then B. attracts to himself all the corruption of the country, Democratic as well as Republican, & C. attracts men of both parties who want no offices but are eager for the honour of the country.[32]

Howells argued that the charges against Blaine had not been proved, whereas those against Cleveland were admitted "with ever so much shuffling"[33] even by his friends, and his indignation over Cleveland's disgrace he expressed with vigor.

On the question of the Chicago "anarchists" a few years later, the two were again in disagreement, but this time because Howells had turned radical and Perry was sympathetic with the conservative position. When Howells sent to the New York *Tribune* his letter defending the "anarchists," Perry was in France watching the attempts of the Boulangists to overthrow the government. He wrote to Fay:

> I'm glad the Anarchists are hanged and now see that Howells's fault was defending them. I think society is to be overthrown by the barbarians it has nurtured "in its midst," or at least runs a great risk of it, over here — you can't conceive the abyss between the proletariat and peasants and the upper classes, but that is no reason for aiding them and destroying our civilization.[34]

He was also disturbed by Howells's views on the tariff, and he told of writing him that he thought "one of the first things to be done in the way of social reform was to knock protection in the head." Later he exclaimed with satisfaction: "Howells begins to think that Protection is not faultless! He speaks of 'labour protected thro' Capital.' Sho! In time he will be a Free Trader."[35]

Late in 1889 Perry returned to Boston after a two-year resi-

dence in Europe, where he had enjoyed meeting various men of letters, notably John Addington Symonds, who shared his enthusiasm for the evolutionary theory of criticism. At one time Perry had forwarded to Symonds Howells's review of his *Renaissance in Italy,* and the English writer thanked him:

> It was very good of you to send me Howells's notice of my last 2 vols. (Re in It.). I see no American reviews of my work at any time. . . . Howells's I prize, since it takes my point & shows that he felt what I was driving after. You and he are the only two who perceived the argument of those concluding volumes.[36]

But in spite of his delight in the stimulating atmosphere of Paris, Perry was homesick for Boston, and when he heard that Howells was planning to spend two years there, he wrote to Fay, "I am beyond measure delighted to hear this & I begin to yearn with double horse-power for my return. Just think how delightful it will be to have him there."

4

PERRY was a man of extreme sensitiveness, and he suffered acutely under the unfavorable criticisms of his literary histories. Howells did everything in his power to proclaim his friend's merits and to find rewarding work for him. A remark which he made in *Harper's* is evidence of his concern in building up Perry's reputation:

> Capable critics [he wrote] are always rather rare birds. But we had imagined that Mr. Lowell was a rather capable critic; Mr. Stedman is a critic of a very great capability; and we will mention Mr. T. S. Perry, as the author of a study of *English Literature in the Eighteenth Century,* which in learning, insight, and a breadth and depth of critical science is of a sort simply impossible to the crude conceptions of earlier criticism — as far beyond that as antiseptic surgery is beyond the old methods.[37]

For his support of Perry, as well as for an attack on anonymous criticism, the novelist received the sneers of the *Nation:*

> For five years now he has had his say upon literature past, present, and to come, and others have criticised what he has pronounced upon Cervantes and Cawein, Thackeray and Ironquill, Scott and Mr. T. S. Perry; and he, displeased, as he acknowl-

> edges, at the treatment accorded him, now has his say also upon the pack that worries him.[38]

Two articles which Perry wrote for the Boston *Post*[39] in the summer of 1891 on the French decadents and symbolists may have been suggested by a query from Howells, "I read with some mystification about the decadents; how could I read myself easiest into some knowledge of them? Are they possibly the Next?"[40] It is regrettable that Perry had no other encouragement to continue his studies, for, although his criticisms of the new writers were less concerned with the interpretation of their obscurities than with the fact that they were sincerely trying to do something new, he might have served his readers by reminding them of the vitality of the arts in France. One of his great merits was that he was alert for every new movement.

In 1898 Perry somewhat reluctantly accepted a teaching position in Keiogijuku University in Tokyo. Within a month of his return in 1901 he journeyed to York Harbor to call on Howells, who had been spending his summers in Maine. He saw him again in 1902; and in 1903 that staunch friend wrote begging him "not to leave our meeting and 'talking it out' to the chances of my passage through Boston."[41] Perry went accordingly to Kittery Point, Howells's new summer home, for a visit of two days, after which the novelist thanked him for "the little Tolstoy book," gratefully acknowledging the visit as "the shadow of a great rock in a weary land of nothings and nobodies."[42] A month later Howells wrote again:

> What you said of my book [perhaps it was *The Son of Royal Langbrith*] went to my heart as well as my head, for one ages into self-doubt, and there are so many to help one doubt one's self. Yet I do think with you, if not all the way with you, that there is life in the thing, and being born in 1903 it may outlive a person born in 1837.[43]

From another letter written in the same year it is apparent that Howells consulted Perry about his biography of Mark Twain:

> You are right [he wrote] and I thank you, the more because you confirmed my own first feeling. The publishers proposed that the life should not be published in Clemens's lifetime, but with the MS. in their hands I knew they would have itched to print it. He is the most candid, modest and impartial of men, as regards cri-

> ticim of himself or his work, and I think he would stand almost anything from a man he believed his friend, but all the same it would not do, and I asked you only to be the more convinced.[44]

Howells's affection for his friend found moving expression in these lines written, two years later, at Kittery Point:

> The delight of your letters to me is such as to make me long for your talk, and no written or spoken insult from you but shall flatter my thick conceit of your friendship like a caress. There are a thousand things rotting in my breast for want of speech with you.[45]

A few of those "thousand things" he had a chance to say when he met Perry for dinner in Boston, a month before the latter was to sail for his last visit to France, which extended from 1905 to 1909.

5

WHEN the time came for his return to America, Perry was reluctant. He knew that he would painfully miss the intellectual and artistic life of Paris.

Perhaps his chief compensation was his friendship with Howells, whose company he had more opportunity to enjoy in these later years than at any other time since they had worked together on the *Atlantic*. Howells's travels to Kittery Point necessitated his passing through Boston every spring and fall, and nothing could prevent Perry from calling on him at the Hotel Bellevue and joining him for lunch or for a visit to Keith's theater. He also went three times to New York to see his old friend: once in May 1910, on account of the death of Mrs. Howells; again in March 1912, for the dinner which marked Howells's seventy-fifth birthday; and once more in April of the same year for preparing "a conversation" on recent Russian fiction for the *North American Review*. At that time, Howells, being, as Perry wrote, "the tenderest & most amiable of men," was revelling "in anarchy, & social upheaval & all modern improvements," and he arranged a luncheon at which Perry met "a Yiddish Russian jew socialist & editor," who denounced "every monopoly except his own" at table.[46] Howells also took Perry to the Hippodrome, which they enjoyed, because nothing, Perry felt, so well mirrored life as a perfect circus.

In addition to these brief visits, there were two periods of several months each when Howells came to stay in or near Boston. He was in Cambridge from January until March 1913; and he lived on Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, from mid-December 1913 until the following May. Between 1911 and 1917 Perry went seven times to Kittery Point, and once he took his host back with him for four days at "Flagstones," as Henry James had christened the Perry farm near Hancock, New Hampshire. On this occasion Howells sat to Mrs. Perry for his portrait, and Perry whiled away the time for him by reading aloud from Samuel Butler's *Note Books* or from other works that were catching his interest.

Howells's letters show his joy in these meetings. "We are still doting on that visit we had from you," he wrote in 1911, "one of the most signal pleasures of my life, & the sweetest consolation of these latter sad years."[47] In the following spring he held out promises of generous hospitality: "I have laid in wine and cigars, and am having beeves, lambs and chickens killed on every side. There are no melons yet, but the strawberries are reddening to the shortcake, and there is coffee everywhere."[48] On one of the most memorable week-ends in Kittery, Peter Finley Dunne and Thomas Nelson Page made a foursome with Howells and Perry for talk on a great variety of subjects — on the humorists from Aristophanes to George Ade, on the degeneracy of American drama, and on various Lincoln stories that each man had to contribute; and Perry came "away from the feast hungry for more."[49]

Scarcely a visit passed without Howells's submitting some of his work for Perry's criticism. In 1913 he wrote, probably about a sketch, "The Critical Bookstore," which appeared in *Harper's*: "It was hard on you, my reading you that allegory of mine, but it was the greatest advantage to me, and so I don't regret it, though I know I ought. Now I see my way through. Thank you, long suffering friend."[50] He intended to read *The Leatherwood God* to Perry as soon as they could get together; and when it was almost finished, he asked for information "about impostors and false prophets," so that he could give "a learned look to the last chapter."[51] When Howells was asked, towards the close of his career, to select and edit material for the volume of *Great*

American Short Stories, he turned to Perry for help in finishing "a good cheap second hand book treating topically and not too seriously of American stories, short and good ones." "In the decay of my memory," he wrote at the age of eighty-two, "I don't know which I like, but if I once saw the names of them, I should know like lightning."[52] On his last visit to Kittery, Perry acceded to Howells's request for a reading from *Hamlet.* His natural histrionic gift, which had often been noted by his friends, showed itself here, and his well-modulated voice, his clear enunciation, and his fine feeling for Shakespeare made the experience one of the aged novelist's "signal pleasures."

On May 11, 1920, Perry took the Fall River boat to New York for Howells's funeral. His grief was too keen to bear mention in his letters. Shortly after his return to Boston, he received a call from Hamlin Garland, who, knowing the intimacy of their friendship, wished Perry to show him the various houses in which Howells had lived. The following summer he sent some letters for inclusion in the volumes to be edited by Mildred and John Howells, and he expressed to John Morse the hope that the selection would be made so as to "let his beautiful disposition have full show . . ."

Notes

1. "His Friends Meet William Dean Howells at Eighty," New York *Sun,* February 25, 1917.
2. Mildred Howells, ed., *Life and Letters of William Dean Howells* (New York, 1928.), I, 170.
3. New York *Sun,* February 25, 1917. 4. *Ibid.*
5. From Fred Lewis Pattee, November 7, 1915. MS. in the possession of Miss Margaret Perry. Except where otherwise indicated, all manuscripts are in the Perry collection.
6. Mildred Howells, ed., *op. cit.,* I, 172.
7. This is the opinion of Miss Perry, given in conversation in June 1942.
8. Horatio F. Brown, *John Addington Symonds,* (New York, 1895), II, 240.
9. To Van Wyck Brooks, April 7, 1924. MS. in the possession of Mr. Brooks.
10. *International Review,* X (February, 1881), 145.
11. *North American Review,* XCIX (July, 1874), 104.
12. Joyce Kilmer, ed., *Literature in the Making* (New York, 1917), pp. 7–8.
13. *North American Review,* CXCVI (July, 1912), 86–87.

14. Boston *Evening Transcript,* December 17, 1874.
15. Plan of table in Harvard College Library MSS.
16. Hercules Warren Fay, a Harvard graduate of the class of 1862, was an intimate friend of John R. Dennett and John Fiske, and through them came into Perry's circle of friends.
17. To John T. Morse, Jr., August 18, 1911.
18. To William Dean Howells, February 6, 1878. MS in Harvard College Library.
19. Hill (1833–1910) was Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory from 1876 till 1904.
20. Mildred Howells, ed., *op. cit.,* I, 379.
21. *Harper's Magazine,* LXXIII (July, 1886), 318.
22. *Harper's Magazine,* LXXIV (December, 1886), 161–162.
23. To Hercules Warren Fay, February 9, 1889.
24. From William Dean Howells, January 16, 1890.
25. From William Dean Howells, September 9, 1890.
26. New York *Sun,* February 25, 1917, p. 10.
27. *Harper's Magazine,* LXXXII (April, 1891), 802–804.
28. Mildred Howells, ed., *op. cit.,* I, 301.
29. *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine.* n. s. I (March, 1882), 681.
30. *Ibid.,* p. 683, 685.
31. Boston *Evening Transcript,* June 13, 1884.
32. To William Dean Howells, August 12, 1884. MS in Harvard College Library.
33. From William Dean Howells, August 15, 1884.
34. To Hercules Warren Fay, December 3, 1887.
35. To H. W. Fay, August 25, 1889.
36. From John A. Symonds, February 9, 1888. MS in Boston Public Library.
37. *Harper's Magazine,* LXXX (March, 1890), 646–647.
38. *Nation,* LI, (August 7, 1890), 111.
39. Boston *Post,* August 7 and 18, 1891.
40. Mildred Howells, ed., *op. cit.,* I, 413.
41. From W. D. Howells, September 18, 1903.
42. From W. D. Howells, September 27, 1903.
43. From W. D. Howells, October 27, 1903.
44. From W. D. Howells, November 22, 1903.
45. From W. D. Howells, August 16, 1905.
46. To John T. Morse, Jr., July 31, 1912.
47. From W. D. Howells, July 21, 1911.
48. From W. D. Howells, May 5, 1912.
49. To John T. Morse, Jr., September 4, 1912.
50. From W. D. Howells, April 6, 1913.
51. From W. D. Howells, October 19, 1914.
52. From W. D. Howells, February 10, 1919.

Poe Centenary

ABOUT five o'clock on the afternoon of October 3, 1849, a man "unconscious of his condition — who brought him and with whom he had been associating," was admitted to the Washington College Hospital in Baltimore. The resident physician adds, "To this state succeeded tremor of the limbs . . . delirium . . . His face was pale and his whole person drenched in perspiration." Apparently Edgar Allan Poe — for it was he — never regained consciousness before he died, four days later. He was forty years old.

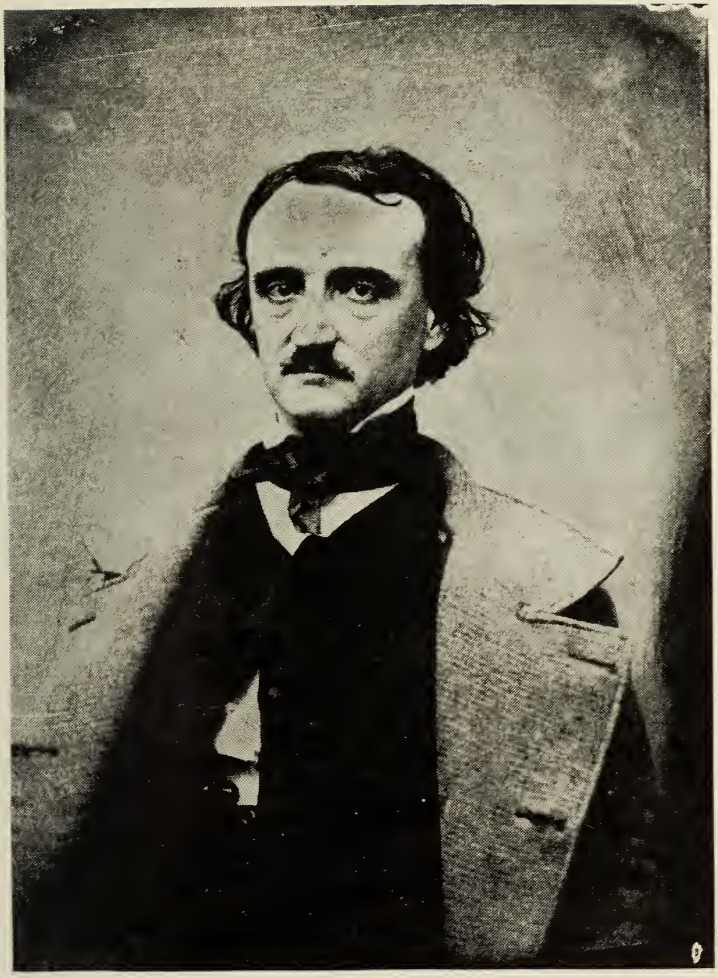
Living, he was the most controversial figure in American letters, and his death, instead of diminishing the debate, served only to intensify it. Harassed by poverty, highly sensitive and at times victim of his own inadequacies, he lived in a society which was hostile to him, in an age filled with movements for reform. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Americans were militant about issues such as temperance, slavery, woman's rights, and communal living; people pondered on spiritualism, magnetism, hypnotism, transcendentalism. A Spanish writer once remarked that "the American of 1835 was so engrossed in perfecting himself and reforming his neighbor that it is surprising that he noticed Halley's comet at all." Such a society found difficulty in condoning a weakness for drink, and a people the majority of which were still in the acquisitive stage was not inclined to be generous in supporting its men of letters.

At the time of his death, Poe's was a name to be reckoned with. As early as 1845, Lowell writing in *Graham's* had called him a genius as a poet, in a review which was probably the most just estimate that he received while living. Lowell was not so enthusiastic about Poe, the critic, remarking, "We suspect him for a man who has one or two pet prejudices on which he prides himself. These sometimes allure him out of the strict path of criticism . . ." He was referring, of course, to Poe's unfortunate preoccupation with plagiarism, which led him to provoke the "Longfellow War," in which Longfellow refused to join, and a few months after Lowell's review appeared, to accuse Lowell of the same sin of plagiarism. On earlier occasions, Poe praised

both Longfellow and Lowell highly, assigning to the former "the first place among the poets of America," and calling the latter "the noblest of our poets." Poe was easily irritated; he resented the neglect with which he thought northern critics treated southern authors; and the abolitionist attitude of the author of *The Bigelow Papers* especially irked him. Speaking of the Bostonians, in a letter addressed to a friend in 1849, he said, "They are getting worse and worse, and pretend not to be aware that there *are* any literary people out of Boston." And in the same letter: "I sent a review of the 'Fable' to the S. L. Messenger a day or two ago, and I only hope Thompson will print it. Lowell is a ranting abolitionist and *deserves* a good using up."

In spite of his great qualities as a critic, Poe's judgment was often warped by personal considerations. He was notably gallant as far as women were concerned; even Margaret Fuller, whom he privately called "a detestable old maid," came out very well in his account of her in the "Literati." Many of the people whom he reviewed indulgently would not be remembered today unless he had written of them. At other times, as Lowell observed, he seemed "to mistake his phial of prussic-acid for his inkstand."

He had made so many enemies, personal and literary, that the attacks on him became even more bitter after his death. The first came, however, from an unexpected quarter, only two days later. On October 9, the New York *Tribune* published his obituary by Rufus Wilmot Griswold which observed, among other things, that "this announcement will startle many, but few will be grieved by it" and "he had few or no friends." Griswold signed the notice with a name other than his own — Ludwig. Poe, in spite of disagreements with Griswold during their acquaintance of some ten years, evidently considered him well-disposed and had named him his literary executor. Griswold had a prominent place in the literary world, and his publishing such an article in Horace Greeley's newspaper did Poe's reputation incalculable harm. Its many inaccuracies were widely reprinted and accepted as true by editors, many of whom were acting in good faith. Yet Griswold soon discovered that he had underestimated the number and loyalty of Poe's friends. Replying to the protests of such people as George R. Graham, N. P. Willis,



Edgar Allan Poe, from Daguerreotype Taken in 1848
(Courtesy of Brown University Library)



Mrs. Helen Whitman, and John Neal, to justify himself he reprinted the obituary with expansions as a biographical memoir in his four-volume edition of Poe's works.

Meanwhile in Europe the name of Edgar Allan Poe was rapidly becoming a synonym for the highest achievement in American letters. It was natural that Poe's art should appeal to the European mind. Devotion to the ideal, fear, terror, love and death are universal themes; the foreigner needed no knowledge of the American scene to understand his works. Much of his writing was "timely," dealing with subjects which were already popular in Europe. The last third of the eighteenth century saw the publication in England of Walpole's *Castle of Otranto,* Beckford's *Vathek,* "Monk" Lewis's *Ambrosio,* and Mrs. Radcliffe's *Mysteries of Udolpho.* The English taste for the neo-gothic overflowed into Germany, where in the early years of the nineteenth century appeared E. T. A. Hoffman's *Nachtstücke* and *Die Serapionsbrüder,* six volumes of tales dealing with the grotesque, mysterious, and supernatural. The tide turned back to England in the works of Coleridge and DeQuincey.

This interest in the strange and occult was not merely a literary phenomenon; some years before, Count Cagliostro had been popular in London and on the Continent; early in the century mesmerism, so called from the name of Cagliostro's rival, Dr. Friedrich Mesmer, who claimed to heal the sick by magnetism, became sought-after in Paris. Poe, then, could be sure of a public for "The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar."

Poe's recognition in France began in 1845, with the publication of a translation of "The Gold Bug" in the *Revue Brittanique.* The author's "ratiocinative method" appealed to the logical French mind; Dupin of "The Murders in the Rue Morgue," "Marie Roget," and "The Purloined Letter" was no stranger to the countrymen and contemporaries of Eugène François Vidocq, thief, soldier, gambler, and finally chief detective of the Paris police. "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" was printed in several newspapers; E. D. Forgues published a long criticism of Poe's tales in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of October 15, 1846; and in 1848 Baudelaire brought out a superb translation of "Mesmeric Revelation" as "Révélation Magnétique" in *La Liberté de Penser.* The first volume of Poe's stories was the *Nouvelles*

Choisies d'Edgar Poe, translated by Alphonse Borghers, Paris 1853. In March and April of the previous year Baudelaire had published in the *Revue de Paris* articles on Poe's life and works; much changed, these appeared as the introductions to his translations, the *Histoires Extraordinaires,* 1856, and the *Nouvelles Histoires Extraordinaires,* 1857, which were received with immediate acclaim by advanced writers. About 1875, the Symbolist poet Mallarmé translated "The Raven" into French prose; later he made versions of many others of Poe's poems.

Mainly to his French translators and to their prestige, Poe owes his position as a world figure. The Spanish-speaking countries knew him through the French translations. It is perhaps safe to say that in Europe he and Whitman are regarded as the giants of American literature.

The Library has assembled an exhibit, in a part of the Treasure Room, illustrative of every phase of the poet's life and works. Among the first editions may be mentioned *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym,* New York 1838, and the first London edition of the same year; *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque,* Philadelphia 1840, containing twenty-five stories, all that Poe had written by that year. Then there is *The Raven and Other Poems,* New York 1845; *Mesmerism "in articulo mortis,"* London 1846 (the first English edition), and *Eureka, a Prose Poem,* New York 1848. Unfortunately, the Library does not have a first edition of *Tamerlane and Other Poems,* Boston 1827. *The Conchologists' First Book,* Philadelphia 1839, and *Politian,* the first complete edition published in 1923, round out the group.

The first edition of *The Raven and Other Poems* is in the original binding along with twelve of the tales, which also appeared separately under the title *Tales* in the same year. The dedication of the book of poems reads, "To the noblest of her sex — to the author of 'The Drama of Exile' — to Miss Elizabeth Barrett Barrett of England, I dedicate this volume, with the most enthusiastic admiration and with most sincere esteem." In her acknowledgement, Miss Barrett wrote: "Your 'Raven' has produced a sensation, 'a fit of horror' here in England. Some friends are taken by the fear of it and some by the music . . ." She added that "our greatest poet," Mr. Browning, was struck by the rhythm of that poem. Tennyson was one of Poe's admirers; and Ros-

setti and Swinburne were both deeply impressed — and influenced — by his "strong and delicate genius."

Almost all of the magazines of which Poe was editor, and to which he contributed stories, poems, and critical articles are here in complete files — *The Southern Literary Messenger, Burton's Gentleman's Magazine, Graham's Magazine,* and *The Broadway Journal.* In the issue of the *Journal* for February 8, 1845, Poe reprinted "The Raven" from the *American Review,* changing the eleventh stanza, and correcting a typographical error in the tenth. Poe's "Literati," discussing thirty-eight authors, first appeared in *Godey's Lady's Book* in 1846. Various tales and literary criticism appeared in the same magazine in other years. His last article, "Mellonta Tauta," was published in February 1849.

Like many authors of his day, Poe contributed to the literary annuals or gift-books, which usually appeared early in the autumn in order that they might be used as Christmas presents. Often the purpose of the volume was stated in the title. Poe was represented in at least twelve of these books, of which the Library has eleven. Of the French translations there are, among others, Baudelaire's two volumes of the *Histoires,* the first dedicated to Maria Clemm, and the second edition of Mallarmé's *Les Poèmes d'Edgar Poe,* with illustrations by Manet.

By far the most impressive part of the Library's collection are the eighteen autograph letters by Poe in the Correspondence of Rufus Wilmot Griswold. The first, to his friend Thomas W. White, editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger,* is of May 30, 1835; and the undated and unsigned autograph to Mrs. Clemm was probably written within a month before his death. There are two other letters to White, seven to R. W. Griswold, four to Frederick W. Thomas, and one each to Louis A. Godey, Mrs. Jane E. Locke, and John N. McJilton. Griswold's Correspondence includes more than fifty letters to Poe from such representative literary personalities as Thomas Holley Chivers, John P. Kennedy, William Gilmore Simms, and William Wirt.

Two other valuable Poe autographs have recently been deposited in the Library: one, the original of the article on Henry B. Hirst, which Griswold reprinted in the third volume of Poe's works in 1850, and the second, a "Memo for Philadelphia," a series of notes on English versification for a lecture or article.

The Correspondence of R. W. Griswold

The Library's Griswold Collection — the correspondence of Rufus Wilmot Griswold, critic, poet, and anthologist, and editor of *Graham's Magazine* from 1842 to 1843 — comprises over twelve hundred autograph letters and other manuscripts. Earlier installments of the present descriptive catalogue appeared in *More Books* for March, April, May, and June 1941, February and September 1943, and in the first issue of *The B.P.L. Quarterly*.

LEWIS, Sylvanus D. A.L.S. To [R. W. Griswold]. 3 pp. 11 x 8 in. Nov. 2, 1846.

[Brooklyn.] Asks whether any poems of Mrs. [Estelle] Anna [Blanche (Robinson)] Lewis are to be included in the new edition of Griswold's *Poets and Poetry of America*. Sends her poem "The Broken Heart." Offers to "satisfy" Griswold for any trouble he may take in the matter.

In a P.S., biographical data on Mrs. Lewis.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. Sept. 3, 1849.

[Brooklyn.] Offers to pay for the stereotyping of a rewritten sketch of Mrs. [Estelle Anna Blanche (Robinson)] Lewis for Griswold's *Female Poets of America*. Explains the error in printing her name as "Sarah Anna." Sends some of her poems from current periodicals: "The Angel's Visit," "The Orphan's Hymn," "To My Guitar," and some of her late sonnets.

Gris. Corr., p. 252.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold 1 p. 8 x 5 in. Feb. 2, 1850.

[Brooklyn.] Asks Griswold to call, to consult with Mrs. [Estelle Anna Blanche (Robinson)] L[ewis] "about some particular literary matters."

Lewis, Mrs. Sylvanus D. See Lewis, Estelle Anna Blanche (Robinson).

Lewis, Tayler, *1802–1877*. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. Apr. 23, 1850.

[Schenectady.] Sends a list [pp. 2, 3, and 4] of his own writings. Invites Griswold to visit.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. May 16, 1850.

[Union College.] Asks Griswold to help promote the sale of copies of an address, delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Union College by the writer.

Nature, Progress, Ideas (Schenectady 1850) was the title of Lewis's address, delivered July 24, 1849.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 8 x 5 in. Jan. 26, 1853.

[Schenectady. Union College.] Discusses the suitability of his own writing for publication in Griswold's paper [*The Illustrated News*]. Mentions his work on *The Six Days of Creation* [Schenectady 1855].

Lieber, Francis, *1800–1872*. A.L.S. To ——. 3 pp. 8 x 5 in. Dec. 20, 1851.

[Columbia, S. C.] Cannot attend [the Cooper memorial], but recommends that the statue [of James Fenimore Cooper] be erected in New York, not in Washington.

— A.L.S. To [R. W. Griswold]. 3 pp. 8 x 5 in. Sept. 16, 1852.

[New York.] Will send Griswold some of his pamphlets if desired.

Lippard, George, *1822–1854*. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Nov. 22, 1849.

[Philadelphia.] Is unable to find a missing valise of Poe. Mentions Philadelphians who contributed to Poe's support the previous summer.

Lippincott, Mrs. Leander K. See Lippincott, Sarah Jane (Clarke).

Lippincott, Sarah Jane (Clarke), *1823–1904*. Grace Greenwood, *pseud.* A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 8 x 5 in. May 24, 1855. Signed "Grace Greenwood."

[386 Arch St. Philadelphia.] Is sending a copy of the *Phrenological Journal*, containing a biographical notice of the writer, which Griswold is to use in rewriting his notice of her in *Female Poets of America*. Asks him to make some other corrections.

Mount and ms. crumpled. The biography of Grace Greenwood appeared on pp. 5–8 of the *American Phrenological Journal* for January 1854.

— Ms. poem. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. N.d.

"The Lover of His Faithless Mistress."

This poem appears in Griswold's *Female Poets of America*.

Littell, Eliakim, *1797–1870*. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 8 x 5 in. Nov. 30, 1854. Under signature: "for Self & Son."

[Boston.] Discusses plans for enlarging [*Littell's*] *Living Age* to 64 pages, and for a new 144-page monthly [*Panorama of Life and Literature*]. Needs capital, and asks Griswold to help edit.

Little, Sophia Louisa (Robbins), *b. 1799*. Ms. by unidentified writer. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. N.d.

Biographical data on Mrs. Little [for *Female Poets of America*].

Little, Mrs. William. See Little, Sophia Louisa (Robbins).

Lloyd, William. A.L.S. To James Mease. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. June 13, 1842.

[Freehold, N. J.] Biographical information about Philip Freneau, and circumstances of his death.

Locke, Jane Ermina (Stockweather), *1805–1859*. A.L.S. To Mary Elizabeth (Moore) Hewitt Stebbins. 2 pp. 9 x 7 in. Jan. 6, 1851.

[61 Federal St. Boston.] Inquires about the omission of the writer's poems from *The Memorial* [to Frances Sargent (Locke) Osgood].

— A.L.S. To Mary Elizabeth (Moore) Hewitt Stebbins. 4 pp. 9 x 7 in. Jan .13, [1851].

[61 Federal St. Boston.] Discusses Griswold's injustice to the writer, in

omitting her from *The Memorial* [to Frances Sargent (Locke) Osgood] and from *Female Poets of America.* Mentions a sentence left out of a letter from Poe to the writer, quoted in Griswold's memoir of Poe.

Gris. Corr., pp. 264–6. For the above letter from Poe "to a lady in Massachusetts" see Griswold's "Memoir of the Author" in *The Literati* (New York 1850), pp. xxv–xxvi.

—, letter to. See Poe, Edgar Allan.

— See also Chivers, Thomas Holley.

Locke, Mrs. John G. See Locke, Jane Ermina (Stockweather).

Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, *1807–1882.* A.L.S. To [R. W. Griswold]. 8 pp. 7 x 4 in. Sept. 28, 1850.

[Cambridge.] Declines to be drawn into controversy over Poe's charges that Longfellow plagiarized Poe's "Haunted Palace" in his "The Beleaguered City."

Poe, *Works,* 1902, XVII, pp. 406–7.

— See also Benjamin, Park; Hillard, George Stillman; Poe, Edgar Allan.

Lossing, Benson John, *1813–1891.* A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 6 x 4 in. June 14, 1853.

[Poughkeepsie.] Discusses two portraits of Mrs. [Martha (Dandridge) Custis] Washington for Griswold's *Republican Court.*

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 8 x 5 in. Nov. 15, 1856.

[New York.] Will furnish Griswold with some material about the Schuyler papers upon the writer's return from Virginia, where he is to be married.

Lossing's second marriage, to Helen Sweet, took place Nov. 18, 1856.

Lowell, James Russell, *1819–1891,* letters to. See Poe, Edgar Allan.

— See also Briggs, Charles Frederick; Eveleth, George W.; Poe, Edgar Allan.

Lowell, Mrs. James Russell. See Lowell, Maria (White).

Lowell, Maria (White), *1821–1853.* See Briggs, Charles Frederick.

Ludewig, Hermann, Ernst, *1810–1856.* Ms. by unidentified writer. 5 pp. 8 x 5 in. [Dec. 12, 1856.]

Obituary notice of Ludewig.

— Ms. by unidentified writer. 1 p. 8 x 5 in. [Dec. 12, 1856.]

Continuation of obituary notice of Ludewig.

On the same page, in a different hand, note about Ludewig's "Books in Ana," a supplement to his French catalogue [*Le Livret des Ana: éssai de Catalogue Manuel,* Dresden 1837].

Lunt, George, *1803–1885.* A.L.S. To George Pope Morris. 1 p. 8 x 5 in. Apr. 28, 1854.

[Boston.] Sends a substitute contribution for "Mr. Clark's Memorial."

Lunt's contribution to *The Knickerbocker Gallery: a Testimonial to the Editor of the Knickerbocker Magazine* [Willis Gaylord Clark], New York 1854, was a poem, "Republican."

— See also [Otis, J. F.]; Tuckerman, Henry Theodore.

Lynch, Anne Charlotte. See Botta, Anne Charlotte (Lynch).

Lytton, Rosina Doyle (Wheeler) Bulwer-Lytton, baroness, *1802–1882.* A.L.S. To [Stringer and Townsend]. 4 pp. 9 x 7 in. Feb. 6, 1850.

[London.] Proposes to write a book on the United States, if [Stringer and Townsend] will guarantee her £1800. Mentions her legal difficulties.

Gris. Corr., p. 258.

MABBOTT, Thomas Ollive. See Osborn, Laughton.

Magoon, Elias Lyman, *1810–1886.* A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. N.d.

[N.p.] Expresses sympathy for Griswold's ill health.

Mancur, John Henry. A.L.S. To R.W. Griswold. 2 pp. 9 x 7 in. Aug. 8, 1842.

[Schermerhorn St. Brooklyn, L. I.] Discusses suitability of the writer's "De Pontis" for magazine publication. Encloses a sketch for *Graham's,* the "Widow of Newbury." Needs money and suggests an arrangement whereby he would contribute exclusively to *Graham's.*

"De Pontis. A Tale of Richelieu" was published serially in *Graham's* in the August, September, October, and November, 1842, issues. "The Widow of Newbury" appeared in the November 1842 number.

— A.L.S. To [R. W. Griswold]. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Nov. 28, 1842.

[Schermerhorn St. Brooklyn.] Refers to the death of Griswold's wife and son. Complains that his own literary earnings are less than [Nathaniel Parker] Willis's. Prefers, therefore, not to restrict the length of his contributions to *Graham's.*

Gris. Corr., p. 127.

Mann, Daniel. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Jan. 26, 1856.

[Boston.] Recalls his early acquaintance with Griswold in Calais, Maine. Is sending his book "Wolfsden."

Gris. Corr., pp. 304–5. *Wolfsden: an authentic account of things there and thereunto pertaining, as they are and have been,* by J. B., was published by Phillips, Sampson & Co. in Boston in 1856.

Mansfield, Lewis William. A.L.S. To ——. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Dec. 8, 1851.

[Cohoes. Albany Co.] Encloses a poem, unnamed, for publication.

On verso a canceled poem, "Crossing the Seas."

Marcy, Dr. Erastus Edgerton, *b. 1815.* A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 8 x 8 in. N.d.

[N.p.] Friday, 2 o'clock. The writer will be late in joining Griswold at Mrs. James's.

Marcy, William Learned, *1786–1857.* See Wood, George.

Marguerittes, Julie (Granville) *comtesse de, 1814–1866.* Ms. by unidentified writer. 2 pp. 9 x 6 in. N.d.

[N.p.] Copy of biographical notice from the *Home Journal.*

— See also Peebles, C. Glen.

Marryat, Frederick, *1792–1848.* See Willis, Nathaniel Parker.

Marshall, Charles. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Feb. 13, 1849.

[Philadelphia.] Is sending a copy of Dr. [William] Valentine's *Budget of Wit and Humor,* which Marshall has just published. Inquires about a novel by Mrs. C[atherine] A[nn] [(Ware)] Warfield.

Mathews, Cornelius, *1817–1889.* D. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Aug. 26, 1843.

[New York.] Printed notice of the addressee's election as an associate member of the "American Copy-right Club."

Address and date in the hand of Cornelius Mathews.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Apr. 4, 1844.

[14 Pine Street.] Encloses a check to cover Griswold's expenses at Washington on behalf of the Copyright Club. Asks for some volumes of of poetry.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 8 x 5 in. Sept. 19, 1844. Signed with initials.

[N.p.] Encloses proofs of Miss E[lizabeth] Barrett's poems. Reminds Griswold to answer a letter from [Evert Augustus] Duyckinck. Asks for copies of Griswold's *Poets and Poetry of England in the Nineteenth Century* and *The Illustrated Book of Christian Ballads.*

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 8 x 5 in. Oct. 28, 1844. Signed with initials.

[111 Fulton St. N. Y.] Thinks Miss [Elizabeth Barrett] would be pleased to have Griswold write a notice of her poems. Mentions [Louis Antoine] Godey's "Portrait Gallery" as competition for *Graham's.*

Gris. Corr., p. 161.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 8 x 5 in. Jan. 28, 1853.

[N.p.] Encloses some clippings regarding the writer's *Behemoth: a Legend of the Mound Builders.* [New York 1839]. Asks to be paid for an article.

Printed clipping attached.

— A.L.S. To [R. W .Griswold]. 1 p. 5 x 5 in. N.d. Signed with initials.

[N.p.] Saturday. Asks payment for an article [in the *Illustrated News*].

On same mount as letter to Griswold of Jan. 28, 1853, in which the original request for payment is made.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. N.d.

[N. p.] Asks about publication in Philadelphia of the writer's "Puffer Hopkins." [Evert Augustus] Duyckinck would like a set of plates of *The*

Gift for 1842 and 1843. Also asks for return of the autograph sonnets of Miss [Elizabeth] Barrett.

P. 1. badly mutilated. Mathews's "The Career of Puffer Hopkins" appeared serially in *Arcturus* from June 1841 to May 1842, and was published in book form by D. Appleton & Co. (New York 1842).

— See also Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe; Whipple, Edwin Percy.

Maupin, S. A.L.S. To Edgar Allan Poe. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Sept. 30, 1840.

[Richmond.] Offers a position as teacher of French to M. C. Auguste Dubouchet, a friend of Poe.

May, Caroline, *b. 1820,* letter to. See Smith, Elizabeth Oakes (Prince).

— See also Ellet, Elizabeth Fries (Lummis); Griswold, Rufus Wilmot.

Mayer, Brantz, *1809–1879.* See Draper, Lyman Copeland; Kennedy, John Pendleton.

McDougall, Frances Harriet (Whipple) Green, *1805–1878.* A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Oct. 30, 1849.

[Stamford, Ct.] Asks for copies of Griswold's book [*Female Poets of America*] and Miss [Anne Charlotte] Lynch's [*Poems,* 1848?] for review [in *The Young People's Journal of Science, Literature and Art*]. Mentions the ending of her connection with the *Univercoelum* [*and Spiritual Philosopher*].

The Univercoelum was superseded, June 30, 1849, by *The Spirit of the Age.*

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. Oct. 15, n.y.

[Brooklyn. No. 85 Prince St.] Asks return of a volume of *The Young People's Journal* [*of Science, Literature and Art*] and some of the writer's manuscripts.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. N.d. Signed with initials.

[No. 56 Rutger Street.] Sends her novel *The Mechanic* [Providence 1842] and some "Mythic stories." Discusses revision of these and other works, for republication. Kate Fox asks that Griswold return her album.

McDougall, Mrs. William C. See McDougall, Frances Harriet (Whipple) Green.

McJilton, John Nelson, *1805–1875.* A.N.S. To Edgar Allan Poe. 6 lines. 10 x 8 in. Postmarked Baltimore, Aug. 13, [1841]. Signed with initials.

[N.p.] Disclaims any knowledge of the cipher sent Poe by "Timotheus Whackemwell."

Written at bottom of a letter from Poe to McJilton, Aug. 11, 1841. Poe, *Works,* 1902, XVII, p. 100. Poe's article, "A Few Words on Secret Writing," appeared in *Graham's* for July 1841, addenda in the August, October, and December issues for that year. The "Whackemwell"–McJilton correspondence is alluded to in the October 1841 issue.

MacKellar, Thomas, *1812–1899.* A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. July 5, 1855.

[Philadelphia.] Autobiographical data [for the sixteenth edition of *Poets and Poetry of America*].

Mackenzie, Mrs. Colin. See Mackenzie, Helen (Douglas).

Mackenzie, Helen (Douglas). A.L.S. To ——. 3 pp. 5 x 4 in. Feb. 24, 1854.

[Kelloe, Scotland?] Is sending her book [*Life in the Mission, the Camp, and the Zenáná,* London 1853]. Asks for copies of notices it receives in American reviews.

Mackenzie, Robert Shelton, *1808–1881.* A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Nov. 22, 1855.

[*Daily Times,* N. Y.] Explains his objections to Griswold's printing of Poe's "Raven" in short-measured lines, in *Poets and Poetry of America.*

McLellan, Isaac, *1806–1899.* Ms. poem, signed. 3 pp. 15 x 8 in. June 28, n.y.

[Boston.] "Female Kindness."

Addressed "To the Publisher of Graham's Magazine." On ms., a note submitting the poem for publication.

McMichael, Morton, *1807–1879.* See Tomlin, John.

Mease, James, *1771–1846,* letter to. See Lloyd, James.

Meek, Alexander Beaufort, *1814–1865.* See Cosby, Fortunatus; Tomlin, John.

Mellen, Prentiss, *1764–1840.* See [Otis, James F.].

Meredith, John H., *pseud.* See Wallace, Horace Binney.

Messinger, Robert Hinckley, *1811–1874.* Ms. by unidentified writer. 2 pp. 8 x 5 in. N.d.

[N.p.] Biographcal data.

Miles, Pliny, *1818–1865.* A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. Jan. 23, 1855.

[Washington, D. C.] Wishes Griswold a pleasant journey to the West Indies for his health.

Mitchell, Donald Grant, *1822–1908.* A.L.S. To [William?] Townsend. 4 pp. 8 x 6 in. June 27, 1851.

[Norwich, Conn.] Sends an advertisement for the fourth edition of *The Lorgnette.* Mentions some financial arrangements [with Stringer and Townsend].

Gris. Corr., p. 271. Mitchell's *The Lorgnette: or, Studies of the Town,* was published under the pseudonym of "An opera goer" by Stringer and Townsend (New York 1850).

— See also Huntington, William Henry.

Mitchell, John Kearsley, *1793–1858.* Ms. by unidentified writer. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. N.d.

[N.p.] Biographical data.

Moore, Abigail (Hempstead) Ledyard, letter to. See Ledyard, John.

Moore, Frank, *1828–1904*. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 8 x 7 in. Nov. 15, 1849.

[San Francisco, Cal.] Complains about the slowness of government mail steamers from New York to California. Describes conditions [in San Francisco]. Mentions [James] Bayard Taylor.

Gris. Corr., pp. 253–4.

— A.L.S. To [R. W. Griswold]. 2 pp. 8 x 5 in. Dec. 26, 1855.

[New York.] Is sending a copy of his *Songs and Ballads [of the American Revolution* (New York 1856)]. Mentions the *Tribune's* attack on Griswold.

For an account of the *Tribune's* attack on Griswold, Dec. 15, 1855, in connection with charges of venality which had been made against the paper, see Joy Bayless, *Rufus Wilmot Griswold* (Nashville 1943), pp. 247–50.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 9 x 7 in. Mar. 6, 1856.

[New York.] Asks Griswold's consent to Moore's writing a continuation of the *Republican Court* for [D.] Appleton [& Co.].

Moore, Jacob Bailey, *1797–1853*. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 8 x 5 in. June 20, [1847?].

[N.p.] Sunday Eve. Has sent sketches of Generals Heath, Spencer, Thomas, and Huntington [for Griswold's *Washington and the Generals of the American Revolution* (Philadelphia 1847)] and will send others.

Morris, "General." See Morris, George Pope.

Morris, George Pope, *1802–1864*. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Nov. 25, 1854.

[N.p.] Begs Griswold not to be offended at "an oversight"; blames Griswold, not himself. Not explained.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 8 x 5 in. June 15, 1855. Signed with initials.

[N.p.] Suggests the inclusion of some additional poems by the writer [in the sixteenth edition of *Poets and Poetry of America* (Philadelphia 1855)] and asks Griswold to mention "the English opinion" of the writer's work in his note.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 3 pp. 7 x 4 in. Mar. 28, 1856.

[New York.] Encloses proof of an article [for the *Home Journal*] in which the writer has included some references to Griswold among extracts from the criticism of [Horace Binney] Wallace.

Gris. Corr., p. 306.

—, letter to. See Lunt, George.

— See also Wallace, Horace Binney.

Moss and Brother. See Griswold, Rufus Wilmot.

Mowatt, Anna Cora (Ogden). See Ritchie Anna Cora (Ogden) Mowatt.

Mulchinock, William Pembroke, *1820–1864*. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. Apr. 29, 1851.

[Box 2557 P. O. New York.] Is sending his book. Says he is starving, and asks Griswold's help in securing a position.

Gris. Corr., p. 270. Mulchinock's *Ballads and Songs* was published by G. W. Cottrell & Co. (Boston 1851).

Murray, O. S. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. June 28, 1838.

[Telegraph Office, Brandon, Vt.] Invites Griswold to make an anti-slavery address in Brandon on July 4, [1838].

Gris. Corr., p. 21.

Myers, Hesse, *1789–1876*, letter to. See Tuckerman, Henry Theodore.

N., W. Ms. poem. 3 pp. (3 mounts.) 9 x 7 in. N.d.

[N.p.] "To———."

Corrections in pencil, p. 2.

Neal, John, *1793–1876*. A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. Feb. 27, 1845.

[Portland.] Complains about Griswold's selections of the writer's work for *Poets and Poetry of America*. Discusses which of his works would be suitable [for *Prose Writers of America*]. Refers Griswold to biographical accounts of him in *Blackwood's* and the *New York Mirror*.

Gris. Corr., pp. 167–9. Neal's own account of himself appeared in *Blackwood's* for February 1825.

— A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. Mar. 8, 1845. Pages 3 and 4 mutilated.

[Portland.] Discusses his novel *Brother Jonathan* [Edinburgh 1825] and other prose work suitable [for Griswold's *Prose Writers of America*]. Will send some poems.

Gris. Corr., pp. 169–72.

— A.L.S. To Mary Sargeant (Neal) Gove Nichols. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. Nov. 30, 1846.

[Portland.] Gives his view of his own work. Discusses [Edgar Allan] Poe's opinion of him.

Below signature on p. 3: a note in another hand, regarding Neal's opinion of Poe.

— A.L.S. To Frances Sargent (Locke) Osgood. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. [Apr. 25, 1846.]

[Portland.] A friendly letter, asking for Mrs. Osgood's poems, and a lock of Poe's hair for the writer's daughter Mary.

On p. 1: a letter from Mary Neal to Mrs. Osgood, dated Apr. 25, 1846.

— A.L.S. To Frances Sargent (Locke) Osgood. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. May 22, 1846.

[Portland.] Thanks her for her book [*Poems*, 1846?]. Mentions the death of his infant daughter Nelly.

— A.L.S. To [Mary Elizabeth (Moore) Hewitt Stebbins]. 2 pp. 8 x 5 in. Jan. 4, 1851.

[Portland.] Thanks her for a "volume of songs." Sends a greeting to Mrs. [Elizabeth] Oakes [(Prince)] Smith. Inquires when [*The Memorial* to Frances Sargent (Locke) Osgood] will appear.

Mrs. Hewitt's *Songs of Our Land and Other Poems* was published in Boston in 1846.

— A.L.S. To Mary Elizabeth (Moore) Hewitt Stebbins. 3 pp. 8 x 5 in. Jan. 27, 1851.

[Portland.] Thanks her for a copy of *The Memorial* [to Frances Sargent (Locke) Osgood], which he praises. Mentions Mrs. [Elizabeth] Oakes [(Prince)] Smith.

The Memorial was published by Putnam in January 1851. It was edited by Mrs. Hewitt, and Neal contributed a poem, "Inscription."

— Ms. poem. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. 1828.

[N.p.] "The Disappointed One."

— Ms. poem. Copy, in unidentified hand. 4 pp. 10 x 8 in. 1828.

[N.p.] "The Ideot–Boy."

— Ms. poem. Copy, in unidentifed hand. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. 1842.

[N.p.] "The Departed."

— Ms poem. 2 pp. 10 x 8 in. 1842.

[N.p.] "Lines to her who will understand them."

— Ms. poem. Copy, in unidentifed hand. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. [1842.]

[N.p.] "Apostrophe to New England. (Written when Massachusetts and Main [sic] were afield, about the Northeastern Boundary.)"

Title and inscription in Neal's own hand.

— Ms. poem. 3 pp. 10 x 8 in. 1843.

[N.p.] "The Birth of Woman."

— Ms. poem. 1 p. 10 x 8 in. 1843.

[N.p.] "Your father is a man again."

— Ms. poem. Copy, in unidentified hand. 7 pp. 12 x 8 in. N.d.

[N.p.] "The Felon's Future."

— See also Hoffman, Charles Fenno.

Neal, Joseph Clay, *1807–1847.* A.L.S. To R. W. Griswold. 1 p. 9 x 8 in. Nov. 30, 1846.

[N.p.] Is sending some of his sketches, from which Griswold is to make a selection [for *Prose Writers of America*].

(*To be continued.*)

French Prints

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

AN exhibit of some fifty French etchings, engravings, and lithographs, mostly the work of nineteenth- and twentieth-century artists, has been arranged in the Print Department for October. Included in the exhibit are about a dozen plates by the great French portraitists of the seventeenth century.

Robert Nanteuil was the greatest French master of portraiture in his age. Often he made his engravings from his paintings and crayon drawings. He did several hundred portraits, each of which evinces a nobility of design, perfection of draughtsmanship, and warmth of painting values. Among his sitters were Louis XIV, Mazarin, Madame de Sévigné, Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, and Anne of Austria. Gérard Edelinck is represented by his portrait of Colbert, and Antoine Masson by that of the Comte de Harcourt. In comparison with Nanteuil's work, their prints are cold, with concern for technical achievement only. Pierre Drevet's plates, "Dauphin of France" and "Guillaume Cardinal Dubois" are unrivalled for their textural qualities; yet even his portraits seem weak put side by side with those of Nanteuil. Two prints by Claude Lorrain, "Sunrise" and "Cowherd," are also shown. Lorrain was supreme in landscape — in etching just as much as in painting. His plates, of which he made fifty, are imbued with great simplicity and poetic spirit.

Delacroix, Decamps, Huet, and a few artists of lesser importance must be given credit for creating an interest in the copper-plate medium when, in the early nineteenth century, Romanticism was in the ascendancy. The success of the Barbizon School can be traced to their efforts. Millet, Corot, Daubigny, Charles Jacque, and Theodore Rousseau executed plates of lasting fame.

No etcher has better understood the peasant life and its daily tasks than Jean-François Millet. He himself wrote, "To me this is true humanity and great poetry." Perhaps his most beautiful plates are "Peasants Going to Work," "Two Men Digging," "Peasant with a Wheelbarrow," "The Shepherdess Knitting,"



"Los Gitanos," Lithograph by Manet (Reduced)

"Wool Carder," and "Goose Girl." In all of them, sculpturesque figures are magnificently portrayed and are literally modelled in line. The fatigued bodies with their bent backs and strained limbs could not be depicted with greater understanding or feeling.

Corot's work strikes one by its variety and diversity of manner. His subject matter usually includes glimpses of a low-level country, clean and wind-swept, or the woods of Ville d'Avary. He gave us delightful renderings of cool grey mornings and misty evenings; he felt the gleam of small rivers, and the play of light through branches in the wind. Among his better works are "Solitude," "Paysage d'Italie," and "Souvenir d'Italie."

Charles Jacque was the first of the group to devote himself seriously to etching, and it was his enthusiasm that inspired other artists to follow. "The Sheep-fold of Béarn" represents him in the exhibit. Daubigny's art, more abstract than that of the others, is mostly interpretations of the beauty of the Seine-et-Oise, which he loved and knew so well. His straightforward handling of the copper and needle is reflected in "Sunrise" and "Tree with Crows."

Charles Méryon was a contemporary of the Barbizon etchers. His strange and weird genius, haunted by the mysteries of ancient Paris, found true expression in needle and acid after a failure in painting because of color blindness. The strength of Méryon's plates is in their simplicity, based on nothing save light and shadow, pure chiaroscuro, and a quality which radiates luminosity and color. It is difficult to understand why the author of such plates as "Le Stryge," "La Morgue," "Abside de Notre-Dame de Paris," "Le Petit Point," and others of the Paris Set did not receive recognition in his life-time.

Félix Bracquemond's "Long live the Czar!" and "Portrait of Méryon" show great technical skill. He had considerable influence upon his contemporaries. Auguste Lepère, a pupil of his, is outstanding for his studies from nature. "The Old Fisherman's Hut" has a largeness of vision. Maxime Lalanne's treatise on etching has been the guide of many artists to this day. He was greater as a technician than as an artist. Few of Félix Buhot's plates are pure etching, for he employed many methods on the same print.

Alphonse Legros was in the great tradition. It has been said

of him that his accuracy of observation made him a realist, the intensity of his feeling a romanticist, and the austerity of his style a classicist. His work includes masterly portraits, landscapes of quiet beauty, dramatic storm effects, or sympathetic sketches of peasant folk. "The Death of the Vagabond," "Morning on the Stream," and "Cardinal Manning" represent his work.

Manet's etched work was greatly influenced by his painting. It has been thought that his drawing was uncertain, sacrificed for broad flat areas. This can be traced directly to his admiration for Goya's plates. Certainly his "Gitanos" and "Lola de Valence" display a mastery of draftsmanship, through suggestion rather than technical accomplishment in detail. Even his limited palette would indicate that he thought in terms of black and white. Although his plates are few, they will live by their breadth of conception and freedom of method.

Several French artists carried the traditions of the Golden Age of engraving into the twentieth century, most prominent among them being Jean-Louis Forain, who died in 1931. His Lourdes plates, court-room scenes, and religious subjects are examples of his searching insight. Allied to Forain are Steinlen, Besnard, Brouet, Féau, Beaufrère, and Moreau, all represented with their finest work.

As one reviews the period of Impressionism, it is evident that self-discovery gave full impetus to original ideas. Through their experiments, the artists found that nature held the key to self-expression, and also that nature offered no ready-made formulas. Although their prints are known the world over — the American museums, libraries, and private collections are especially rich in this respect — there is still too little appreciation of their merit. As to our own day, the graphic arts have witnessed a magnificent revival in France. The book illustrations shown in the great exhibition "French Art of the Book," held recently in New York and San Francisco, were real revelations.

The exhibit in the Print Department gives convincing evidence of the vitality of French creative genius. The modern school has proven to be especially interesting, rich, and diversified. Artists of all groups, from the Cubists and Fauves to the Surrealists, have contributed to the graphic arts.

Notes on Rare Books

First Editions of Byron

FOUR valuable Byron items have recently been acquired by the Library. Each represents a significant aspect of the poet's career.

Byron's earliest poetic efforts are in the extremely rare *Poems on Various Occasions,* privately and anonymously printed in 1807 by S. and J. Ridge at Newark (Nottinghamshire) in one hundred copies. The volume now in the Library was originally presented by the poet, then a little over nineteen years old, to Andreana Becher, whose name he wrote in pencil on the fly-leaf. A note in a different hand testifies that the book was "The gift of Lord Byron." Andreana Becher was a sister of the poet's friend John T. Becher, a Southwell clergyman, who was responsible for the publication of the book. It was Becher's shocked remonstrances against the licence of the poem "To Mary" that had induced Byron to burn the whole impression of his first volume, *Fugitive Pieces,* and bring out another edition without the offensive verses. Two poems in it are addressed to "Dear Becher."

The volume long remained in the Becher family. Originally — so a note informs us — it had "his Lordship's seal containing coat of arms and the motto 'Crede Byron' inside the cover." The seal, however, has been removed, perhaps by the new owner, Henry Huth, whose book-plate was inserted instead. It was probably while in the Huth Library that the volume was rebound in a tasteful brown calf binding, the edges gilt, and the outside and lower margins happily preserved uncut. The Library acquired the book at the Spoor Sale.

The Library's copy contains a number of notes, most of them identifications of the persons to whom the poems are addressed or certain lines allude. They are undoubtedly in John Becher's hand. "D" on page 7 is thus shown to be Delawarr, who was also the "Fair Euryalus" of the "Childish Recollections." George John, Lord Delawarr, was one of Byron's closest friends at Harrow; these poems tell how their relationship was wrecked by envy. The name Pigot — Elizabeth Pigot, whom the poet knew in Southwell — is supplied in the titles of three poems, on pages 26, 29, and 48. "Eliza" was for Byron a good friend, for whom he felt "fond esteem." To the title "The Cornelian" of the verses on page 30 the word "Heart" is added,

with the explanation beneath, "Eddlestone gave it to him." Eddlestone was a chorister of no social rank, whom Byron had saved from drowning and with whom he later became intimate at Cambridge. In the poem Byron tells his friend that he values the cornelian because it is like its giver — humble, simple, with no "specious splendor."

The "Young Lady" who is the subject of the elegiac stanzas on page 33 was M. Parker (Margaret Parker), Byron's first cousin and second love, whose death at the age of fifteen inspired the poem. In a footnote "the Author claims the indulgence of the reader," because the poem, composed at the age of fourteen, was "his first Essay" in verse. As the "Lesbia" of the flippant poem on page 52 J. Leacroft (Julia Leacroft) is suggested, Byron having flirted with her at Southwell in the autumn of 1806; while the name of A. Houson (Anne Houson), who rivalled Miss Leacroft in beauty and soon replaced her in the young poet's affections, is supplied as the subject of the pretty poems on pages 57 and 59. Two teachers at Harrow described in "Childish Recollections" — one hated, one loved — are identified on the margins of page 111 as Dr. Butler and Dr. Drury. In the same poem some school friends are mentioned: "Joannes" as Wingfield (John Wingfield), "Davus" as Tatersall, "Lycus" as De Bath (Sir James De Bath), "Clarus" as Ld. Clare, and "Cleon" as E. L. Long.* Other notes indicate where new material was added in the later editions of "Childish Recollections."

Inserted in the copy is an autograph letter from Byron to Falkner, dated January 5, 1807. It is printed here in its entirety.**

Sir

The volume of little pieces, which accompanies this, would have been presented before, had I not been apprehensive that Miss Falkner's Indisposition, might render such Trifles unwelcome. — There are some Errors of the printer, which I have not had Time to correct in the Collection; you have it then, with *"all its Imperfections on its head"* a heavy weight when joined with the Faults of its Author. — Such *"Juvenilia,"* as they can claim no great degree of approbation, I may venture to hope, will also escape the severity of uncalled for, though perhaps not undeserved Criticism. — They were written on many, & various Occasions, and are now published merely for the perusal of a friendly Circle. — Believe me, Sir, if they afford the slightest amusement, to your-

*Miss Mayne was mistaken in her Byron biography (1924 ed., 27) in believing that the Earl of Clare was "Lycus" of the poem.

**Undoubtedly, this was Mr. Faulkner, of Louth, solicitor for the Becher family. Byron's letter was published in Thomas J. Wise's *A Byron Library*, London 1928, but inaccurately and without the postscript.

self, and the rest of my *social* Readers, I shall have gathered all the "*Bays*" I ever wish to *adorn* the *Head*

of yours
very truly
Byron

P. S. I hope Miss F. is in a State of Recovery.

Byron was soon tempted to bring his poems to public attention, and in the summer of 1807 he issued them again, with omissions and additions, as the *Hours of Idleness,* this time with his name on the title-page. The book was treated with sneering contempt in the January 1808 number of the *Edinburgh Review* by Henry, Lord Brougham, who advised the poet that "a poem . . . to be read must contain at least one thought, either in a little degree different from the ideas of former writers, or differently expressed." Byron replied with the savage satire *English Bards, and Scotch Reviewers,* which first appeared in March 1809. A second edition was printed in the next month, with additions, a preface, and a prose postscript, announcing the poet's departure from England but not "from fears, literary and personal." The Library has acquired a copy of the fourth edition, 1811. Although his diatribe met with great success, Byron had come to regret the writing of the work as "a record of misplaced anger and indiscriminate acrimony." On his return from his foreign tour in 1811, he ordered his publisher, James Cawthorn, to destroy the whole impression of the fifth edition. The Library's copy is in the original drab paper boards, with the labels intact.

The narrative poems of Byron's middle period are represented in the Library with first-edition copies of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, The Giaour,* and *The Corsair.* A copy of the first edition of *Lara,* 1814, has now been added to the group. Inserted is a sheet containing two lines:

That smile might reach his lip but passed not by —
None ever traced that laughter to his eye —

A note below the verses, signed by J. C. Hobhouse, the poet's friend, reads: "These lines are in Lord Byron's hand writing — they are in Lara verse 301 and the second line was again corrected before publication and stands thus: 'none e'er could trace its laughter to his eye —' " One may add that there are erasures in the two lines of Byron's copy. He originally wrote the second line as "None e'er beheld the laughter of his eye —"

The melodramatic *Lara* is, oddly, accompanied by Samuel Rodgers's simpering pastoral *Jacqueline.* The poems, printed by J. Mur-

ray, were published anonymously. This is the only edition in which they were issued together, for the divorce of "Larry and Jacky," as Byron put it in a letter to Thomas Moore in 1814, was soon effected. At least four editions of *Lara* appeared during the autumn of 1814.

Perhaps the most appealing of the new acquisitions to the book-lover is a first-edition copy of Cantos I and II of *Don Juan,* considered by many critics as Byron's masterpiece. Printed by Thomas Davison in 1819, the volume is a large quarto in the original blue-grey paper boards, with a white paper back-label. These Cantos, also published anonymously, were issued in spite of the advice of Byron's friends, who, anticipating a wave of protest, urged him to suppress the work. Byron, however, ignored the warnings of the "cursed puritanical committee," as he called his well-wishers in a letter to his publisher, and continued to expand the poem to almost his last days. The third, fourth, and fifth cantos appeared in 1821, the sixth, seventh, and eighth in 1823, six more later in 1823, and the last two in 1824.

Had "the grand Napoleon of the realms of rhyme" lived, this "epic satire" might have really extended — as he threatened — to a hundred cantos. As it is, *Don Juan,* sixteen thousand lines long, is an incomparable medley of adventure, passion, humor and wit, with the portrayal of hundreds of characters in its constantly shifting scenes.

ELAINE KIMMELMAN

Bloody Newes from Dover

AMONG the heretical sects which arose with the Reformation were the Anabaptists, a minor though closely-knit group of believers who rejected infant baptism — hence their name — on the ground that a voluntary demonstration of faith alone insures salvation. They recognized the Scriptures as the sole source of spiritual authority and their more fanatical members claimed the right to defy all earthly masters. They were thus regarded as dangerous enemies by the Protestant Church, and in England, after the overthrow of the Episcopacy in 1642, they were among the chief victims of religious intolerance.

The Library has acquired a little pamphlet entitled *Bloody Newes from Dover,* telling of an infanticide committed by a mother in order to avoid the abhorrent baptismal rite. It is dated "the Yeare of Discovery, Feb. 13, 1647." The story is prefaced by the account of a boy, whom his Catholic mother murdered rather than allow the

father to educate him as a Protestant. The author then describes the awful crime of Mary Champion of Dover, the wife of an honest tradesman. Shortly after a child was born to the couple, the husband suggested that they have it christened "according the antient Custome of the Kingdome." But she would "by no means condiscend to it," which much "perplexed" her husband. The puzzle was changed to agony some weeks later when the wicked woman took a big knife and cut off the baby's head. Offering it to the man, she cried: "Behold husband, thy sweet Babe without a head, now go and baptize it; if you will, you must christen the head without a body: for here they lye separated."

Reflecting upon the terrible deed, the author suggests that the insidious poison of Satan may penetrate the least breach in a virtuous soul. In spite of the abundance of proof, he is hesitant to pronounce judgment. Even a murderer, he remarks, does not deserve general censure because "the best may do amisse, and the greatest Professor (sometimes) that liveth, may commit high misdemeanours, contrary to his Profession; for, is it not apparent, & probable, that there is knaves of all trades?"

The title-page contains a lively woodcut of the horror-struck husband, gazing at the decapitated child, his hands thrown up. The wife is shown holding out the gory head, the trunk behind her and the knife at her feet. Above her figure appears the word "Anabaptist"; over the man's "Presbyterian."

THERESA COOLIDGE

The Chronicle of King Alfonso XI

THE Library has a magnificent collection of old Spanish chronicles, the best source for Spanish history of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. Among them is the so-called Valladolid series, Castilian chronicles published in that city in the 1550's by Sebastian Martínez. There has been only one item lacking in the series, and this has been recently acquired too: the *Crónica del . . . Príncipe y Rey Don Alfonso el Onzeno.*

The volume was printed in 1551, before the *Crónica del Rey Don Alfonso X,* which included the Chronicles of Don Sancho and Don Fernando IV. It justifies Martinez's pride in his handiwork with its brilliant red and black title-page and its large woodcut of Alfonso XI on horseback. The work was undertaken by order of Enrique II, the bastard son of Alfonso XI. As the introduction states, the King ordered Juan Nuñez de Villasan, his chancellor and chief

justice, "to discover the facts and write them on parchment." Juan Nuñez followed the command, and "had Ruy Martinez de Medina de Ryoseco transcribe the work." On the strength of this statement, the authorship of the chronicle was long attributed to Juan Nuñez; however, Antonio Palau y Dulcet believes (*Manual,* Barcelona 1924, II, 330) that Enrique's chancellor merely copied the material from another manuscript. It may be noted that Alfonso XI was the first sovereign to have a chronicler. He ordered the annals of the kingdom continued from the time of the *Crónica General* to his own, that is, from the mid-thirteenth to the mid-fourteenth century; evidently it was this source that Juan Nuñez used.

The *Crónica del . . . Príncipe y Rey Don Alfonso el Onzeno* is the record of a king much like his great-grandfather, Alfonso the Wise, only a little more practical. From the time he came to the throne in 1312 until his death in the plague in 1350, the reign of Alfonso XI was filled with warfare with the Moors, his own nobles, and the kings of Portugal, Aragon, and Navarre. However, if one may believe his chronicler, he conducted himself at all times with wisdom and discretion. The King's ambition, like that of all Castilians, was to rule the peninsula, and perfect and spread the Spanish culture. He tried to unite Spain by intermarriages among the princes and princesses.

The Chronicle of Alfonso XI is far more accurate than the other three chronicles, although one may detect errors in dates. The style is grave and authoritative, dealing only with important matters.

GENEVIEVE GUSHEE

Doni's *Mondi* and *Inferni*

ONE of the interesting recent acquisitions of the Library is a copy of the second edition of *Les Mondes, Celestes, Terrestes, et Infernaux* by Antonifrancesco Doni translated from the Italian into French by Gabriel Chappuis, and published at Lyon in 1580. The second edition is distinguished from the first of 1578 by the addition of another "monde" — that of the cuckolds — by the translator. The book was published by Barthelemy Honorati, whose printer's mark, an overflowing urn, decorates the title-page.

In his dedication to Antoine du Verdier, "Sieur de Vaupriuaz," Chappuis explains that he had taken great pains not only to translate the book but to adapt it so that it might be more fully comprehensible to French readers. He had, for instance, made Paris and Tours the seats of the academies that Doni mentions, instead of Venice and Rome.

Doni, a typical figure of the Italian Renaissance, was born in Florence in about 1513. At an early age he entered the Servite Order, but eventually he left it. However, he remained a priest, though a dissolute one, and when he failed to gain any substantial patronage for his literary labors he lived by begging, or, as he expressed it, "by the Kyrie eleison." For a short period he set up a press to print his own works as well as those of others, but his venture failed. Doni had for his friends two of the most prominent literary figures of his age, Domenichi and that unequalled rogue Pietro Aretino. However, he soon quarrelled with them and spent the rest of his life in obscurity, eking out a bare living for himself and his mistress and son by his writings. "He was a gentleman" a contemporary described him, "comely, well made, neat in his person, and wont to consult his mirror, brush and comb his hair, and wash his face and hands with Bolognese soap every morning without fail." His books were extremely numerous; an eighteenth-century commentator, R. P. Niceron, calls him "un grand diseur de riens," but later critics have been more favorable to certain of his works, particularly his *Disegno*, his *Marmi,* his *Librarie,* and his *Zucca* — all of which the Boston Public Library possesses in first or early editions. He died in 1574.

Doni's *Mondes* is a loose conglomeration of discourses, dialogues, and anecdotes. The narrative starts out with the gathering of a group of pilgrims, or travelling academics, who wish to explore the Heavens and the various regions of Hell. One who falls in with their company tells them of the experiences of some vine growers from Tours who attempted to call on the deities, for the purpose of improving the weather conditions, by climbing heavenward on a ladder. The scholars try to reach the celestial regions by various methods. Some set out by sea, some by land, but the most successful are those who use the ladder; these, after they have reached a certain height, are guided by Intellect and Fancy, and are transported by a cloud to the very throne of Jupiter. The story is constantly interrupted by conversations of the pilgrims about the nature of man, *le petit monde;* the world, *le grande monde;* and God, *le très grand monde.* Although there are many references to a God above Jupiter, Jupiter seems to hold effective control. Among the talks of Jupiter and the pilgrims is one in which the latter imagine a socialistic state, rather like the one in Sir Thomas More's *Utopia.*

Journeying through Hell, the travellers are led by such notables as Dante and Virgil. The author claims that he searched diligently for the forest from which Dante departed for the lower regions but was unable to find it. His Hell is peopled by all the traditional fig-

ures of mythology, Lucifer and Pluto being co-rulers. Doni depicts the sufferings of lost souls in great detail. He divides Hell into regions where particular tortures are devised for such sinners as ignorant academics, false doctors, bad writers, and ruffians, and then carefully points out all the allegorical significance of their sufferings.

The book is exactly what would appeal most to Doni's contempories. It is full of absurd happenings and superficial learning, facile moralizing and racy anecdotes, drawing on the paganism of Antiquity as well as on the theology of Christianity. Despite the author's officious piety, the tone of *Les Mondes* is cynical. The *Monde des Cornuz* is in the same vein.

Each chapter of the book is preceded by a small circular woodcut. It is unfortunate that the designer must remain unknown, for he possessed an unusually lively imagination and was able to represent graphically the bizarre happenings in Doni's fanciful words. The first woodcut shows the pilgrims mounting their ladder to the Heavens. One of them has already been tossed from the celestial heights and falls down in agony, while directly beneath him a cow is grazing placidly.

The volume, which once belonged to the library of Cortlandt F. Bishop, is bound in red morocco, with gilt inside edges, by Trautz-Bauzonnet.

Jane Lacy

Contributors to this Issue

Mr. Jay Leyda has been responsible for the publication of *The Complete Stories of Herman Melville,* with an introduction and notes by him, recently issued by Random House. His documentary biography of Melville is soon to be published by Harcourt, Brace & Co.

Miss Virginia Harlow, whose "Thomas Sergeant Perry and Henry James" appeared in the July issue of *The B.P.L. Quarterly,* is Professor of English at DePauw University. Her biography of Thomas Sergeant Perry will soon be published by the Duke University Press.

Mr. Arthur W. Heintzelman, etcher and painter, is Keeper of Prints at the Boston Public Library.

Miss Margaret Munsterberg, Mrs. Elaine Kimmelman, and Mrs. Jane Lacy are on the staff of the Rare Book Department of this Library.

Mr. Zoltán Haraszti is Keeper of Rare Books and Editor of Publications at the Boston Public Library.

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